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# CO-OPERATIVE LIVING IN PALESTINE

by

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With a Foreword by  
GENERAL SIR ARTHUR WAUCHOPE, G.C.B.

LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.  
BROADWAY HOUSE: 68-74 CARTER LANE, E.C.4

*First published in England 1946*

DEDICATED TO

*SHULAMITH, who guided my associations  
with working Palestine, and to Kathryn  
Debora, our guide to the future*

THIS BOOK IS PRODUCED IN COMPLETE  
CONFORMITY WITH THE AUTHORIZED  
ECONOMY STANDARDS

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London

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## ILLUSTRATIONS

ONE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF RAMAT RACHEL WITH HIS GRANDCHILD ALMOND BLOSSOM IN SPRING. A MODERN ORCHARD ATTACHED TO A JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE

YOUTH FROM GERMANY ARRIVING IN TEL AVIV HARBOUR, APRIL 1939, CELEBRATES ITS RESCUE FROM THE GERMAN HELL WITH A DANCE

DAGANIA, ONE OF THE OLDEST JEWISH AGRICULTURAL COMMUNAL SETTLEMENTS IN PALESTINE. IN THE DISTANCE THE RIVER JORDAN, AND BEYOND TRANSJORDAN AND THE HILLS OF MOAB. TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO THIS WAS KNOWN AS "DEATH SPOT"

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COMRADES IN ARMS, JEWS AND BRITISH SOLDIERS SETTLE DOWN TO A JOINT SNACK IN A JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT IN THE ESDRAELON VALLEY



## FOREWORD

In this study of co-operative living Doctor Henrik Infield has chosen the Kvutza as a type of rural settlement already of the highest value to the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and probably of far-reaching significance in the future much beyond its borders.

Doctor Infield writes not only as an acute observer of social relationships, but also as one who has lived with the workers of the Kvutzot. I am confident that many readers will share my pleasure in reading this vivid account written with exceptional knowledge and singular detachment.

It was in 1932 that I paid my first visits to the Kvutzot under the guidance of my good friend the late Doctor Arlosoroff. I can still recall my early amazement that such sacrifices should be voluntarily incurred by these pioneers, and so much good gained through the absence of personal wealth and the non-existence of the profit motive.

Among these villagers there is no fear of want or of unemployment, no envy of another man's possessions, and if there are no luxuries a livelihood for every family is assured. Doctor Infield truly says that all conflict has not been eliminated, nor all self-centred behaviour banished from the Kvutza. That is but to say that workers who practise comprehensive co-operation are still human. But what has already been achieved gives rise to good hope for the future.

By teaching and environment the Nazis corrupt youth. In this new way of living, the youth of the Kvutza are being raised to higher standards of living and thinking. All men are bound by many shackles, but the workers in the Kvutza are free to form and live up to their own set of values.

Doctor Infield has done a great service in presenting us with this thoughtful investigation of the Kvutza, where all may read of the working of a system that offers not only an equal distribution of wealth, but also an approach to true comradeship. It is indeed a study worthy of close examination at the present time.

ARTHUR WAUCHOPE.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For reasons outside the author's control, the publication of this study has been long delayed. When the requisite data had at last been assembled, events in Europe prevented the publication of the resulting treatise in the author's own country. The author then sought a more adequate acquaintance with the English language, and also with contemporary trends in American sociology, before essaying the completion of this study for American readers. More immediate obligations to research and teaching occupations—in Vassar College, the College of the City of New York, and Columbia University—intervened. The recent association of the author with the Rural Settlement Institute, however, offered him the valued opportunity to complete the American version of this study.

During this period of adaptation, several distinguished American social scientists gave genuine assistance.

The first of these was the late Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, a man of the highest scholarly achievements, who kindly favoured the author's efforts. Professor Seligman generously promised to write an introduction to the volume, but death intervened.

The author is deeply grateful to Professor R. M. MacIver, of Columbia University, to whom he is indebted both as a sociologist and as a teacher seeking his way in a new environment.

Many others have proved helpful. The author expresses sincere appreciation to President Henry Noble MacCracken and to Professor Joseph K. Folsom, both of Vassar College; to Professor Howard Becker, of the University of Wisconsin, whose kind and wise suggestions have been most useful; to Dr. J. L. Moreno, of Beacon, New York; to Dr. Eli Ginzberg, of Columbia University, and to various other scholars.

Not least among these have been Edward A. Norman, President of the Rural Settlement Institute, Joseph W. Eaton, its Research Director, and Milton S. Katz, Research Associate. They have largely influenced the writing of this study in its present form. The Institute was formed by Mr. Norman explicitly for studying the theoretical and practical implications of the co-operative community.

The author is grateful for the help received from various library staffs in bringing the factual material up to date. These

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

include the staffs of Vassar College Library, Columbia University Library, Zionist Archives, and the Library of the American Economic Committee for Palestine.

Finally, the author thanks Milton Berger, of Poughkeepsie, N.Y., for valued assistance in the preparation of this manuscript for publication, Edwin Samuel, of Jerusalem, for valuable suggestions, and Dr. Josef Maier, of New York, for reading the proofs.

# CO-OPERATIVE LIVING IN PALESTINE

## INTRODUCTION

### CO-OPERATION AND POST-WAR PROBLEMS

Social problems, like enemy fortifications, can be by-passed but they rarely surrender unless they are attacked. This is true of the basic problems of our time. Economic democracy, racial discrimination, persecution of minorities, to mention only a few of the crucial problems, cannot be circumvented if they are to be solved. The history which preceded the Second World War shows how unwise it is to evade or postpone the needed settlement of issues. Such a policy saves little indeed when reckoned against the tremendous waste of life, energy, and substance on the battlefields. Modern wars can scarcely be carried on to the point of annihilation. Wars provide no permanent solution, for their survivors are faced with the same problems as before, and their solution has not been made easier by the destruction of lives.

Science, by definition, should deal squarely with such problems, should locate and identify them, and in this should surpass all other disciplines. This assumption is based upon the record of such disciplines as have been concerned with the study of matter and of the individual human organism. When we look at the social sciences, however, and specifically at sociology, the record become less distinct. Sociology is at times denounced for not being exact; occasionally, its claims to being considered a science are rejected. Such criticisms have a familiar ring. Other sciences, such as biology and bacteriology, now universally accepted, were similarly condemned in their youth. Sociology is a young science which explores the perplexing maze of interpersonal relationships. In observing and studying these relationships, the sociologist resembles that first prober of the star-lit sky who sensed regularity in the motion of the shining clusters and who kept searching for laws where others saw only confusion.

Economic crises, social upheavals, and wars are still widely regarded as random phenomena, and, as such, destined to remain

outside human control. Accordingly, neither serious nor concerted efforts are being made to establish that these phenomena are the effects of specific causes. Even among sociologists, there are many who refuse to define their subject matter in terms definite enough to permit of systematic analysis and action thereon. The other sociologists, who are not many, yet feel that they have insufficient evidence to sustain their conclusions, little more, it seems, than a scientific "hunch" not unlike that of the first astronomer. Sociologists have to admit that there appears to be an endless variability in human relations and that these variations are barriers against neat formulations. They can, however, indicate much regularity in the seeming chaos. Rhythms can be noted in the relations of man to man. Certainly some of the factors which lead to wars, upheavals, and crises can be explained in terms of cause and effect. Above all, there is evidence that the growth of social institutions has a historic necessity. There are laws regulating the surface appearance of social reality, and these laws can be discovered through steadfast, consistent search.

These sociologists, then, believe that sociology can become a more exact science, and they strive to bring about that result. Moreover, since their subject matter is the relations between their fellow-men, they trust that their science should become more vital than, say, astronomy.

But sociology has a task that carries it beyond the discovery of laws. Its findings must serve to make human relations sounder and more harmonious, perhaps even endow them with deep satisfactions. At the very least, sociology ought to help men shape their relations more purposefully, so that they may forget that sorriest of all excuses for disastrous blunders, namely, that they did not know what they were doing.

### TWO KINDS OF CO-OPERATION

The present study deals with the problem of resettlement. To many competent observers, resettlement looms as the most difficult problem of the post-war period, both here and abroad. Attention has recently been given to the plight of the low-income farmer in the United States. His lot has improved due to the premium which war puts on agricultural products. But when the end of the armed conflict releases millions of young war veterans to search for employment, will not his troubles return

with a vengeance? In Europe, on the other hand, large masses, now dislocated by war and the sinister exigencies of the "New Order", will be stranded. For most of them, effective relief will have to be provided in the form of migration and resettlement.

The extent of such relief is dependent on two factors : available funds and accessible areas. Despite optimistic expectations, funds for relief will not be unlimited. Those countries which to-day restrict immigration do not look forward to relaxing such restrictions after the war. Necessarily, therefore, migration of groups can alone cope with the situation. Resettlement, on this basis, will probably centre in countries, offering agricultural opportunities, which would not be available for "infiltration" by individual European emigrants into existing rural communities.

In both the case of the American low-income farmer and the European immigrant, one way to ease the problem of group migration is the co-operative method. "Leaders of thought", we are told, "at the present time nearly all agree that in the Western world competition has produced a rich technological culture which now, because of radically altered conditions can be enjoyed by men if they learn to displace the no longer productive competitive practices with new, as yet only partially discovered, co-operative ways of living."<sup>1</sup>

Available research on the subject is "scattered, spotty, and even chaotic".<sup>2</sup> We have ventured into a field that has been very slightly cultivated. In these circumstances, we had best rely on our own devices. Co-operative undertakings, in practice, permit us to begin with two distinctions. We find both "segmental" (or partial) and "comprehensive" (or all-inclusive) co-operation. In segmental co-operation, the members associate to satisfy *like* interests. This is the type found in consumers', producers', marketing, and processing co-operatives, all organized for the better attainment of specified economic ends. Comprehensive co-operation is based upon *common* interests. (This distinction between *like* and *common* interests is discussed by R. M. MacIver in *Society : A Textbook of Sociology*.)

Comprehensive co-operation is practised in a community when all the essential interests of life are satisfied in a co-operative way.<sup>3</sup>

Segmental and comprehensive co-operation are not necessarily mutually exclusive. These terms apply to different degrees of the same type of social behaviour, but here, as elsewhere, when a quantitative difference is large enough, it becomes a qualitative

difference. Segmental co-operation in one activity may be accompanied by competitive behaviour in other activities. For example, a member of a consumers' co-operative may be a business competitor of another member of the same co-operative. Comprehensive co-operation, however, excludes economic competition between members of the same group. In the one case, co-operation is practised only when it promises economic benefits ; in the other case, co-operation becomes a new way of life.<sup>4</sup>

In 1844 the first consumers' co-operative store was opened in Rochdale, England. Since then, segmental co-operatives have been found in many kinds of economic endeavour. They have become valuable means of training in the sound practice of co-operation. They do not, however, introduce any fundamental changes in the basic institutions of society, since they are limited to specified economic objects. Only communities practising comprehensive co-operation attempt basic changes. Hence, the experience of such communities should illuminate the study of group settlement.

Co-operative communities are met with long before the first consumers' co-operative. Theirs was not a record of unqualified success. Many of them failed, though rarely for the reasons usually assigned. One of the more recent and more thorough studies states that "few, if any, failed because they could not make a living".<sup>5</sup> Only in recent years have these experiments emerged from the alchemistic stage of seeking a panacea for human evils, and entered upon a period of controlled experimentation. During this period, several governments, including the United States federal authorities, have made the establishment of such communities a part of their official programme.

These realistic experiments vary with the governments, or quasi-governmental agencies, which finance them. They have, though, one aim in common : the solution of certain urgent problems in the rural economy. The Russian Kolkhoz, the Palestinian Kvutza, the Mexican Ejido, as well as more than twenty large-scale co-operative farms established temporarily during the late 1930's by the Farm Security Administration, have made effective use of comprehensive co-operation. These experiments are extremely interesting objects of sociological study. They offer to the American student a cherished opportunity to observe co-operative communities close at hand.

Some communities have been too recently established for

valid deductions to be drawn. Such are the Ejidos. The Kolkhoz and the Kvutza provide more significant examples of co-operative community practice, but only the Palestinian experiment appears clearly based on voluntary participation. Consequently, it is the Kvutza whose experience can give us the most help in the difficult problems of post-war resettlement.

#### THE KVUTZA—AN EXAMPLE OF COMPREHENSIVE CO-OPERATION

“Kvutza” (plural “Kvutzot”) is the Hebrew equivalent of “group”. The Kvutza is one of three types of social organization among Jewish rural settlements in Palestine.\* Of these the Moshavah (or settlement) is simply the traditional individualist village. The other two, the Moshav-Ovdim (or small-holders settlement) and the Kvutza are co-operative. The Moshav-Ovdim retains many individualist features, whereas in the Kvutza not only all economic functions but social functions as well are strictly co-operative.

The Kvutza is not the solitary example of extreme comprehensive co-operation. Several communities with a religious background have similar practices. But the Kvutza goes much further. The Hutterites, for example, have also eliminated private property. But, should they decide to change their system, they would probably “share out”, that is, divide the common property as was done in Iowa in 1932 by the Amana Community.<sup>6</sup>

The Kvutza deliberately excludes this possibility. Whoever joins it covenants to cede all his possessions to the group. A member who leaves is generally aided sufficiently to enable him to establish himself and his family elsewhere. The extent of such aid depends on the economic progress and resources of the community. The Kvutza does not own the land and, consequently, cannot dispose of it or “share out”. The settlers have exclusive rights to the products of the land only as long as they continue to cultivate it.

Several aspects of the Kvutza are especially significant to the student of comprehensive co-operation.

\* In the literature of the Kvutzot, the term Kvutza is used alternately with Kibbutz, which has practically the same meaning. But Kibbutz also refers to groups which are preparing to settle a Kvutza as well to the superior organization created by the Kvutzot. To avoid confusion, the present study uses Kvutza only for the rural settlements and Kibbutz for the superior co-ordinating organization (See Chapter VIII.)

First, the Kvutza is well established. The first of these settlements was founded in 1908, with a membership of ten. A recent census (September 30, 1940) shows seventy-six Kvutzot in Palestine with a total membership of more than 20,000. The movement is still growing.

Secondly, the land area of each Kvutza is restricted according to the number of settlers. The smallest has fifty members, the largest not much more than a thousand. In plantations the acreage averages about 17·5 dunams per family, as compared with 80 to 100 dunams per family in the mixed farming colonies. Because the units are relatively small, these colonies do not have to deal with the complicated social problems characteristic of large densely populated communities.\*

Thirdly, in spite of its extreme features, the Kvutza is not utopian. It is not an attempt to translate any religious or reformist blue-prints into reality. It has arisen out of economic necessity. It is sponsored by the national Jewish agencies in charge of resettlement in Palestine, and these agencies are endowed with certain governmental functions.

Fourth, the Kvutza, because of its truly total co-operation, illustrates in bold relief those modifications which society and its institutions might undergo were the co-operative principle to be widely applied. No partial co-operative could provide so ideal an object lesson.

Fifth, because of the preceding four factors, the social processes of the Kvutza yield insights into the nature of comprehensive co-operation which should be applicable to the problems of our society.

#### METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

Primarily the method utilized in this study is based on the work of the German sociologist, Leopold von Wiese; in the United States, his method has been adapted by Howard Becker. Both von Wiese and Becker, like several other leading sociologists, accept interpersonal relationship and its dynamic counterpart, the social process, as the specific subject matter of sociology.

\* The area of a Kvutza is not based on calculations which are themselves given by theory, but on the size of membership and on the methods of cultivation employed. Some Kvutzot, through intensive cultivation, support large memberships on small areas, especially in the vicinity of urban centres. See *Co-operative Societies in Palestine. Report of the Registrar (A. F. Nayon)* of *Co-operative Societies on Developments in Palestine During the Years 1921-1937* (Jerusalem, 1938, p. 79). This report contains an excellent survey of Jewish agricultural development in Palestine, particularly of its co-operative aspects. The document will be referred to in the text as *Report*.

But they have gone further than other sociologists in attempting a systematic tabulation of the sum total of social processes.

According to Becker, the "Frame of Reference for the Systematics of Action Patterns" is probably the most comprehensive classification of social processes ever undertaken. However impressive such a classification may appear to the student of society, its practical value is merely conjectural until its usefulness in concrete situations has been demonstrated.

The simple social system obtaining in the Kvutza seems to lend itself particularly to a test of this kind. For this reason, we have accepted the "Frame of Reference" as the principal guide in our study of the Kvutza. This classification, generally speaking, proved to be a valuable heuristic tool. Many aspects of the Kvutza might have been overlooked were it not for the inclusiveness of von Wiese's tabulation of the social processes. However, had we followed merely von Wiese's method, we might have failed to consider other aspects of the Kvutza, some of them essential for a thorough understanding of its nature. Data gathered by other means had to be employed in order to round out the study. The core of the present treatment is the material gathered in two and a half years of field work, in research, in personal participation, in interviews given freely and without control, but all the time utilizing the "Frame of Reference" as a methodological guide.



## CHAPTER I

### THE ORIGIN OF THE KVUTZA

The Kvutza has certain similarities to the so-called "Utopian" communities. Despite this, it is an error to classify the Kvutza, as Charles Gide has done, in the same category as these utopias. True, the Kvutza was conditioned by a confluence of ideologies, that of Zionism, of the German Youth movement, of socialism. But the Kvutza, unlike the utopian communities, did not originate in a deliberate attempt to mould a new form of social organization on the foundations of a preconceived theory. It came into being, rather, in much the same way as any other normal community. Basically, what shaped its character was the necessity for adaptation to the unusual conditions obtaining in Palestine. Hence, the peculiar social structure was necessary to ensure survival.

The enterprise of building a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, and the consequent Zionist colonization, created the circumstances without which the Kvutza cannot be adequately understood. This colonization was marked by intensive concentration on agriculture. Such concentration arose not so much because agriculture *per se* was regarded as the most significant fact of Zionism (Frank Adams has pointed this out) but rather because the colonists soon came to see that subsistence derived from the soil would always remain the most solid basis for Zionist aspirations.<sup>8</sup>

The Zionist organization began its more intensive rural colonization of Palestine in 1908. It faced a discouraging situation. Political recognition of the Zionist programme had not been won. Worse, any new undertakings in Palestine, at that time a province of the Ottoman Empire, were dependent on the goodwill of the baksheesh-hungry Turkish authorities.

#### ZIONIST COLONIZATION

There had been a Jewish immigration to rural Palestine prior to the Zionist movement. The earliest indication in the nineteenth century of the interest of the Jewish people in the resettlement of Palestine came with the purchase of land near Jaffa in 1855 by Moses Montefiore. Fifteen years later the "Alliance

Israelite Universelle" founded an agricultural school styled "Mikveh Israel" situated between Jaffa and Ludd. In 1882, after the notorious pogroms in Russia, Leo Pinsker brought out his pamphlet "Auto-Emancipation". He pointed to Palestine as the only country wherein the Jews could, by their own efforts, obtain freedom from persecution. His ideas led to the organization of the "Friends of Zion", who were the first to send groups of colonists to the "Land of their Fathers".

The small-scale agricultural colonization which preceded the Zionists remained, though more or less philanthropic in character. Prior to 1900, the first Jewish settlers were concentrated in the villages of Rishon-le-Zion and Petach-Tikvah. After 1900, they were settled in the Lower Galilee. Baron Edmond de Rothschild generously supported these efforts. The colonists produced wines and grew oranges, and later, in the Lower Galilee, added wheat.

The principal aim of these settlers was to enjoy as good a living as the conditions permitted. Hence, they saw no reason for refusing to employ cheap Arab labour. Their work was thus made easier and more profitable. They soon progressed from the status of colonizer to that of employer. They soon behaved in accordance with their new position.

Under such circumstances, any genuine attachment to the soil could hardly develop. As soon as these *petit-bourgeois* farmers thought themselves well off, they sent their children to European universities.

The number of Jews in Palestine at that time was very small. According to Arthur Ruppin, the first census taken in Palestine reported 24,000 Jews. By 1882, the number of Jews in Palestine had increased to 34,000, and by 1900, there were still no more than some 40,000 to 50,000 as the estimated Jewish population.<sup>9</sup> A large section were the so-called "Halukka-Jews" who had either been sent by religious organizations or had come on their own initiative. Their mission in Palestine was to devote themselves to pious studies and to pray for all Jews who remained in exile. They lived mainly in the four "sacred" cities : Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias.

Zionism not only stimulated the number of emigrants to Palestine but also gave a new meaning to that immigration. The Zionists succeeded in diverting some of the Jewish emigrants (out of Eastern Europe) from the Occidental lands to the "old-new" land and used colonization as a means for the national rehabilitation of the Jewish people, in a political sense.

It was not altogether easy to attract immigrants. True, Jews had prayed two thousand years for the day of their return to the Holy Land. But material conditions in Palestine were not favourable enough to satisfy their natural desire for economic improvement. Despite Zionist efforts, therefore, the Jewish population did not exceed 90,000 at the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>10</sup> During the two decades 1901-20, nearly one and a half millions had emigrated to the United States.<sup>11</sup>

Traditionally, Palestine has been lauded as the land of milk and honey. At one time this may have been the truth. But, alas, not only had milk and honey vanished but water, the source of life itself, was also extremely scarce. The area of Palestine, 27 million dunams or 10,600 square miles, was a waste of sand and stone over large districts, and there were many swamps. If the persecuted emigrant had been seeking only material goods, he would have done better to look elsewhere. Ruppin put it baldly : "The sums invested in Palestine could be put to much better use in other countries."<sup>12</sup>

But material considerations were not paramount. The emotions involved are made clear by the responses to Herzl's suggestions at the Zionist Congress of 1903. Theodore Herzl was the founder of the Zionist movement. At that Congress he urged the acceptance of Great Britain's offer of Uganda, an offer made at the time of Turkish hegemony over Palestine, when the political aspirations of Zionism seemed out of reality. The delegates are said to have acted as though national disaster had befallen them. Shocked, Herzl felt he must withdraw his suggestion. Israel Zangwill considered this attitude unreasonable. His "Territorialist" group, which would have accepted any Jewish Homeland that would have been practicable economically, found that reason is not strong enough to measure itself against deep historical sentiments. He remained without influence, especially after a committee of experts had declared Uganda unfit for colonization by Europeans.

Nationalism was an underlying historic trend of the nineteenth century. The scattered Jewish people felt that they, too, had a right to self-determination, and it was this passion which drove them to Palestine. The ideal of Zionism was the attraction to those not dominated by economic motives, and this was especially true of high-spirited youth. It was not until Zionism became a vivid belief of the Jewish youth that the colonization of Palestine could take on importance. But it was not until the Balfour

declaration favouring the establishment of a Homeland for Jews in Palestine, and the restrictions imposed on immigration by the United States shortly after the First World War, that the best elements of European Jewish youth were induced to participate in the rebuilding of the promised Homeland.

In 1908 the Palestine Land Development Company was founded and the Palestine Office was established in Jaffa. This was the first step in organizing the colonization of Palestine. The management of the Office was entrusted to Arthur Ruppин (mentioned above), a famed sociologist. A farm for training agricultural workers, "Kinereth", was added to the two existing settlements of Hulda and Ben-Shemen.

The Palestine Office was governed by two principles. First, the land acquired by the Zionist organization shall never be owned by individuals but shall for ever remain national property; second, no hired labour shall be used in the tilling of that land. These principles show the spirit of the Zionist movement in its formative years.

In 1901, a "Jewish National Fund" had been established. It was to acquire land in Palestine with the proceeds of contributions from Jews throughout the world. It seemed only just that the land so acquired belong to those who paid for it, that is, to the whole Jewish people. Individuals settling on the land received only leaseholds. This was based on the Biblical code concerning Canaan. When God gave Canaan to the children of Israel, the land remained the Lord's. Those who held it or tilled it could not sell it, bequeath it, nor make it a gift, and should they do so, then it reverted to the original holder after seven times seven years, the so-called Yovel Year (the Jubilee). The Palestine Office likewise leased its land for forty-nine years. The land rent was stipulated at 2 per cent. of the assessed value, this assessment to be changed at certain intervals.

The land was never to be made private property; further, it was not only national property, but he who acquired it had to serve higher purposes than that of personal profit. It was never to be defiled by speculation or by the exploitation of others in its working. This ideal underlay the second basic principle of the Palestine Office. The acreage allotted to each settler was limited to the area which his family and he himself could till, with no other help. Originally 250 dunams were given to each settler. That area has since been reduced to 100 dunams. If necessary, it may be reduced still more.

From the first, an air of social reform pervaded the colonization work in Palestine by reason of these two principles. In so far as the land of the National Fund was in question, private property in land was done away with and the obligation to work made imperative.

Specialization on citrus farming, such as has prevailed on the southern coast of Judea, was not considered desirable for the new colonies. The Palestine Office searched for more appropriate farming methods. They studied the "diversified farming" of the Germans who had settled in the villages of Wilhelma and Sarona. Their system included, simultaneously, dairy and poultry farming, together with wheat and vegetable growing, and, where feasible, citrus cultivation. This system offered two important advantages. The farmer raised at least the minimum for his own subsistence. At the same time, his farming, being more varied, became more interesting and helped to bind the settler more closely to the new soil. The system was adopted for all the settlements of the National Fund.

The Palestine Office took its business seriously. It helped clear swamps and build roads and assisted in locating water. In short, it was instrumental in laying the ground for the agricultural development of Palestine. Its initiative influenced widely the activities of the Palestine Zionist Executive, which, after the First World War, assumed the responsibility for the development of the country. The new agency stimulated agricultural education. To the "Mikveh Israel" previously mentioned, the Zionist Executive added "Ben Shemen", "Kadoorie" and the Agricultural Experimental Station at Rehovoth. A farm school "Pardess Hannah" was founded by the Jewish Farmers' Association.

The Palestine Office believed the planning of the settlements to be desirable; and so did the Zionist Executive. It interested the noted architect, Richard Kaufman, in drawing the plans for the settlements of Nahalal and Kfar Yehezkiel. The settlements are arranged circularly with the stables on the lee-side. These are now the models for rural settlement planning.

#### ORIGIN OF THE KVUTZA

The internal organization of their work was left, wisely, to the settlers themselves by the Palestine Office. At first they proceeded in the customary manner. Each leased a plot, built

his hut, and began to till the soil. When others came into the neighbourhood, a village was formed.

But the new colonists often found that they had no real knowledge of the tilling of the soil. Often they found the hardships unendurable. Some of them quit, leaving everything as it was, their money and efforts wasted. Others, though proven failures, remained on the land they did not know how to utilize properly, while living on the funds which had been collected only for the rebuilding of the country. This was an even more intolerable waste.

If the limited funds were not soon to be exhausted, something had to be done decisively. At this point, there was conceived the notion of settling the colonists in groups. Group settlement offered many advantages. These were crucially important under the circumstances. By bringing together the more skilled immigrants and those who had more to learn, group settlement served to counteract the shortage of trained colonists. Best of all, the individual was but one of many in a group. If he quit, another could take his place. If he turned out a failure, he could easily be removed.

As Ruppin says, the situation was such that the immigrants had no choice. At the time, at least, it meant "either settlement in groups or no settlement at all".<sup>13</sup>

Co-operative farming was thus forced upon those responsible for the survival of Jewish agricultural settlement and was not a consequence of any preconceived idea.

The first three settlements organized on the basis of co-operation, were, nevertheless, not permitted to be wholly self-governing. They were managed by agronomists, and these professional agriculturists were paid. The paid agronomist (locally called *Agronom*) was the "boss" of the enterprise. The members of the co-operative were to receive wages, which were to be charged against their share of the profits. The *Agronom* was hired for a purpose : he was not a member of the co-operative, as were the others, because of a common aspiration and ideology. To him it was just another job. Most of the *Agronom*s were from western Europe. They were unfamiliar with the psyche of the eastern Europeans with whom they had to deal. They treated the co-operative members like any other wage-earners. In the interest of the profitability of the enterprise, they would have replaced them with Arabs where feasible.

Frictions were engendered. A strike arose in the Kinereth

settlement. The co-operative members requested the resignation of their Agronom. When this request was refused, a group of the most highly skilled workers quit and decided to begin on their own.

This group founded what is now the Kvutza Dagania A. They may be considered the founders of the Kvutza movement.

The founders were able to carry on without a boss. But, at first, they did not intend to abandon private property. They intended to work together and, as they did formerly, divide the profits. They soon realized that it would be a long time before there were such profits to divide. Accordingly, they made a virtue out of necessity. They enacted as the basic law of their group that all private ownership be eliminated within the settlement. Note that "Kvutza" is the Hebrew word for "group". Everything was to belong to the group, that is to everybody, and nothing to the individual. The basic social organization of the Kvutza, as it still prevails, was established.

The example of Dagania A appealed to the other settlements in which similar conditions prevailed and brought the membership to emulate that example. The most significant of these experiments was that conducted in the Merhavia colony. This colony had been founded in 1910 by Franz Oppenheimer, economist and sociologist. It was to demonstrate his principle of "peaceful competition". This ideal was to prevail once the private ownership of land had been abolished. Like the other co-operative settlements, the colony was managed by an expert agronomist. The story of Merhavia is that of Kinereth,<sup>14</sup> except that in addition to friction between membership and management, there was friction among the membership itself. Shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, they demoted the manager, elected a committee of the membership, and established a Kvutza.

#### GROWTH OF THE KVUTZA AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

From its inception until 1921, the Kvutza remained the only form of rural colonization within the Zionist organization. There were no more than six of these colonies. The war cut off the aid upon which the Jewish colonies in Palestine were largely dependent. The severe hardships caused the ideas of "Kvutzism" to spread from the rural to the hard-pressed urban areas. The Zionist immigrant accepted the co-operative principle in

cities and in villages. It not only assuaged his difficulties ; it satisfied his longing for a new kind of life.

These urban groups comprised not more than twenty members as a rule. This included men, women, and children. The members lived in cheap flats or dilapidated shacks and managed their affairs collectively. The children remained at home in the care of an adult companion, while the men and women went out to seek or do work. Earnings were put into a common fund and were shared equally by the members with no regard to the size of the individual contributions to the fund.

Palestine, at the end of the First World War, was to become the main haven of the persecuted Jew. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 brought political recognition to the Zionist colonization in Palestine. The post-war pogroms surpassed in intensity of terror and in scope any that had afflicted eastern Jewry. The restrictions of immigration were made more stringent not only in the United States but elsewhere. To the youth of eastern Europe, particularly, the "old-new" land appeared as an oasis wherein life, if only by contrast with what they led, must be both good and happy. But the most intriguing news from Palestine was that of the Kvutza. Of all the messages from Palestine relating to the miraculous rebirth and renewal of harried Jewish humanity, that of the Kvutza had a special appeal. Here, there were not merely revival and refreshment ; here, a new life was being created, fashioned by social justice. Preparation for the "ascent" to Palestine, as emigration was happily termed, came to mean preparation for joining a Kvutza. Crude imitations of the Palestinian Kvutza were formed in Europe, though the groups were small. These groups emigrated *en masse* to the "Land", where the members either joined one of the existing Kvutzot or lived together until permitted to form a Kvutza of their own.

At this juncture, there is a semblance of truth in comparing the Kvutza, as Charles Gide did, with communities founded on a utopian philosophy. The Kvutza to the impassioned masses of Jewish youth in eastern Europe undoubtedly took on utopian beauty and was thought to reward utopian need.

To-day the Kvutza has spread throughout Palestine. By 1935, most of the Kvutzot had become self-supporting, and some had progressed enough to begin repayment of the funds advanced them by the Zionist organization. They have proved so successful that the Zionist has every reason to be proud of the achievement.

But to the sociologist they are of special interest, because of their conjunction of realist origin, experimental character, and pragmatic success. Many a controversial issue within our society, where the arguments on both sides have hitherto been dependent on mere opinion, receive the support of fact when the unusual and instructive experiences of the Kvutzot are brought into the arena.<sup>15</sup>

## CHAPTER II

### WORK

The Kvutza is an example of comprehensive co-operation. Its chief characteristic is the dependence of its other co-operative activities on the co-operative production of food on the farm. The Kvutza may thus be classified as a type of rural producers' co-operative which practises co-operation in processing, marketing, and consumption. Work is the governing principle of these co-operative settlements. The member of the Kvutza thinks of himself as a worker. No one, regardless of other qualifications, can become a member unless he is able to put in a good day's work. Everyone's status is determined by the kind and amount of work he does. A principal cause of expulsion is failure to do a minimum amount of work. This is not surprising : a group whose principal objective is the rebuilding of their Homeland cannot help but make work the cement of their society.

Some aspects of their labour, however, transcend mere necessity. First, there is no economic compensation for the individual. Second, the Kvutzist's attitude towards work idealizes his tasks.<sup>16</sup> These two aspects are intertwined. What motives, given these two bases, induce people to remain in the Kvutza ? What impulse makes them produce ? What impels them to join the Kvutza ?

As we shall see, the absence of the profit motive is a leading cause of the intense satisfaction derived from co-operative tasks, a satisfaction so marked in the Kvutzot. But the impulse which has created the Kvutza and has expanded its membership in an ever-increasing tempo, is the sense of a historic mission. This mission is implicit in Zionism, that nineteenth-century expression of Messianism, as political self-determination. The intensity of this historic mission has been strengthened by the "sense of shame of Jewish existence", so widespread among the Jewish youth of eastern Europe. They were impressed by Russian socialism, and this shame found its need for action in Zionism. As Shalom Wurm indicates, the "sense of shame" was fortified by the "sense of justice" which requires that every man shall work. These young people, adherents to Zionism, regarded Palestine as the long-sought-for opportunity to prove to the world that given an equal chance the Jew could be as "productive"

as anyone else. These young people felt themselves the messengers of the will of their people towards moral rehabilitation. This mission drove pioneer youth onward and led them to accept discomfort, sickness, and danger without thought of material reward and to be unflinching even as to death. This sense of their mission invested labour with ethical beauty ; as a pure ideal, it impelled them to evolve a social organization for the common good, as the most fitting medium for self-realization through society. It was this mission which exalted them and gave them the motive for creating and joining the Kvutza.

#### ADJUSTMENT TO FARM ROUTINE

But an impulse which brings a pioneer to the Kvutza and the motives which fit him to remain are quite different things. In fact, so long as there was little else to depend on, the sense of a historic mission as frequently impeded as it facilitated development. This was especially true after the First World War, during the early stages of Kvutza growth. The youth of eastern Jewry, aroused by the Balfour Declaration and earnestly devoted to the ideal of national resurrection through social justice, streamed into Palestine. The practical emphasis was on social justice, and the Kvutza offered a social organization free from the exploitation and discrimination from which they fled in Europe. Pioneer youth, its natural aspirations granted, formed numbers of Kvutzot. Only a few, however, survived.<sup>17</sup> Elation was not enough. The willingness to sacrifice was not enough. The test came with the demands of the prosaic routine of the farm, which requires steady application rather than romantic exaltation. Only those groups with a nucleus of strong and sober-minded leaders could make the grade, for they alone knew how to direct emotional upsurge into the channels of daily work. The others, after abandoning themselves to ecstasies, were exhausted and could not cope with the exacting routine of co-operative farm life. Some of the extremists among them exhibited their heroic qualities by eccentricities, both in outward appearance and in social behaviour. They grew beards because it was "unnatural" to shave ; they declared war on European bourgeois dress, and donning sacks, with one hole for the head and two for the arms, were celebrated as the "Kvutza of sacks". They heard of Judge Lindsey and experimented with all sorts of triangles, quadrangles, and God knows what other

angles until they became so involved in higher sexual geometry that monogamy, when they returned to it, had the air of a discovery. No wonder they felt that work, too, should cease to be bourgeois rut and stale routine. They worked when the spirit bade them and ceased when the spirit was gone. These spurts of excessive activity ended in physical exhaustion, which they mistook for achievement. It was an achievement that did not meet the needs of farming. Cows, when not milked regularly, suffer and sicken, chickens have to be fed at certain intervals if they are to live, crops will rot if not garnered when they are ripe. A group which was engaged in ecstatic *hora* dancing all night, was dead tired at daybreak and could do no proper farm work. They had little to show for these ecstasies and erratic work—and they disbanded.

The mortality of the newly founded Kvutzot, according to the recollection of "old-timers", was quite high. This had a positive result. At the outset it eliminated those who were not fit for the strict discipline in work required in the Kvutza. The groups who survived went forward from these chaotic beginnings to work out the type of co-operative rural settlement which experts to-day increasingly regard as the most revelatory and effective example of co-operative living.

### OBSTACLES

Two factors which have greatly aided the work morale of the Kvutza are first, the response to the challenge offered by the geographic, climate, and soil conditions of Palestine, and, second, the conditions brought forward by the specific social organizations of the Kvutza.

It may sound paradoxical to regard the eroded soil and the sub-tropical climate in Palestine as assets to the Kvutza. But this is not so strange when the attitude of Jewish pioneer youth is remembered. It required an extraordinary challenge to redirect that very spirit which in some had led to excesses. Normal difficulties would have blunted that enthusiasm and dulled interest. The nature of the land was such that only uncommon energy and perseverance could force it to yield a livelihood. The country was "dry and bare, the valleys were generally swampy, and all of it was neglected".<sup>18</sup>

There were three obstacles to overcome : soil and climate, malaria, lack of water. The state of the soil is well described by

Lowdermilk, who made a survey by aeroplane of an area "still in the same condition that the colonists found". This is the picture he saw, as described by him in the *Menorah Journal* (October, 1940).

On the slopes the ancient terrace walls were for the most part broken down and destroyed, and the soils have been completely washed away, leaving only narrow strips of fertile land lodged in the valleys or low spots. . . . The former forests, dating from biblical times, have disappeared. Now the herds of goats of the Bedouin and the fellahs roam over the barren land searching for a leaf or a blade of grass during the long dry summer. Wind-swept sand dunes along the coast have been blown inland and are filling stream channels. Stream and flood waters were impounded behind the moving dams of sand, which, prior to the establishment of the Jewish colonies had formed vast swamps between the hills and the sea, making the area uninhabitable by the curse of deadly malaria. The centuries of neglect and primitive methods of farming during which erosion had done its destructive work and the burning of dung for fuel instead of its feeding the soil, has reduced the production of the land to a minimum.

Here are the interconnected features which enable us to appreciate the hardships awaiting the Jewish colonist. Deforestation began the erosion, but topography and climate, added to the neglect, made the result irreparable. The unprotected soil was blown away by the eastern winds, the "Khamsins",\* which carry the pulverizing hot sands of the desert. The soil was washed out by the rains, low as an average, but concentrated in the few months of the winter. As Hazen points out, "average annual precipitation ranges in the north of Palestine from 10.3 inches per annum to 22.3 inches and in the south from 4.4 to 14.7 inches per annum".

The next obstacle, malaria, arose because the good soil, washed down from the hills, was settled in the valleys by the stagnant waters. The fertile soil became swamp land, the breeder of malaria. Of the two varieties of the disease, the benign and the malignant, the second seems to have been prevalent at the time of the first settlers. "Malaria", states the first annual report (on malaria conditions) of the Government of Palestine (for 1920-21) "has for centuries decimated the population and is an effective bar to the development and settlement of large tracts of fertile land. At times it assumes epidemic character, wiping out, in the space of a few months, the popula-

\* "Khamsin" means "fifty" in Arabic. The explanation given is that these winds usually blow fifty days during the year.

tions of whole villages, and there are few regions of the country actually free from it."

The dilemma in which the Jewish colonists found themselves arose because good land was swampy, sparsely settled and therefore cheap, but carrying the deadly danger of malignant malaria. The decision was hard, but it was made in true pioneer spirit.<sup>19</sup> The annual Health Department Report (1927) states that "the contrast with what happened in the early days of Jewish colonization is very striking. Then malaria and blackwater fever were rife among the newly settled immigrants and many settlements had to be abandoned on account of the severity of the diseases."

While the excess of water had to be drained in certain areas to make the land inhabitable, the lack of water turned other districts into a desert.

Rainfall was erratic and insufficient. Surface streams were partly or wholly dry during more than half the year, and the climate was hot and dry. The only possible source for continuous irrigation (without which farming could not develop) were wells. The wells of antiquity had filled with sand and shift-soil, and the boring of new wells called for funds which were slow in coming. After long delay, it was found that well-digging would be amply rewarded in the maritime plain and that there was enough underground water in the western foothills.<sup>20</sup> This discovery made possible the mixed farming so essential to the Kvutza economy.\*

#### ABSENCE OF INDIVIDUAL ECONOMIC REWARD

"Farming as usual" had been shown to be impractical because of the physical hardships it entailed. This circumstance brought about the experiment of group settlement. No other colonization promised a way out. Individual farming often proved a total failure. But this first step away from routine gradually led to the unique type of social organization seen in the Kvutza.

There is no reward attributable to any individual for his efforts in such groups. The broad outlines of common work are planned by the General Assembly, which includes all members. Day-by-day work is designated for each member by the Work

\* An important rôle in the development of water resources in the Jewish settlements was and is that of the water-supply co-operatives. These co-operatives, as Hazen points out, are a particular feature of Jewish agriculture in Palestine. Fifty such co-operatives were active in 1935.

Assignment Committee. This committee usually consists of five members, elected annually. Since the work is done not for profit but for subsistence, crops are extremely varied. To mention the principal products only : field crops, such as wheat, rye and oats ; forage raised through irrigation, such as hay and clover ; vegetables, such as egg-plants, cabbage, cauliflower, carrots, onions, garlic, radishes, tomatoes, beets, and other truck crops ; fruit, such as oranges, bananas, and grapes, also olives. Poultry is raised, as are milch-cows and sheep. Dairy products are prepared.\* So far as is practicable, experts in raising any of these are retained in their specialty. Nevertheless, they must (like all other members) take turns in chores such as kitchen duty, serving as waiters, and laundry work. The unskilled members form a sort of mobile reserve which the Committee of Work Assignment directs to specific daily tasks. Every evening a list of these assignments is posted at the entrance of the dining-hall. From this list, each member learns his next day's tasks and his station. Exemptions are rare. They comprise the sick, invalids, the aged, children, and women in the last weeks of pregnancy. Even guests, should they remain more than three days, are expected to pick up the shovel.†

Complaints and demands for other tasks are rare : the decisions of the committee are usually accepted. This is not surprising. All agencies of the Kvutza are truly representative and thus are effective instruments of self-discipline.

#### THE EFFICACY OF NON-INDIVIDUAL REWARDS

Every member is presumed to do his utmost in the tasks assigned him, and, in return, he receives his necessities, food, clothing, shelter, recreation, medical care, education for himself and his children, support for his parents. These goods and services are not distributed in proportion to the amount and quality of individual work performed, but, rather, according to the quantity of goods and services communally made available to the group. Without the incentive of personal reward, is work

\* See *Handbook of the Jewish Communal Villages in Palestine*, Jerusalem, 1938, p. 23 (referred to hereafter as *Handbook*) ; also Jehoshuah Manoah, "Balance Sheet of a Kvutza", in *Palaestina* (Vienna, 1929).

† The three days of grace are in line with surrounding Arab tradition. According to their laws of hospitality, the Arab is bound to accept a stranger who enters his tent as a guest, and the host may ask no questions. If, after three days, the guest shows no sign of leaving, one may hint at his departure through asking his name, his family origins, and the goal of his journey.

done less zealously? If everyone is assured that his needs will be satisfied, whatever his own contribution, who would want to go out of his way to do more than is strictly necessary? Must not the quality of work done sink to the level of the laziest in the group?

These queries can be answered statistically. But this demonstration is not necessary to refute the assumption that work without individual reward must needs be inferior. What we know about the psychology of satisfaction in work is sufficiently striking.

A survey of research studies made in the past fifteen years sums up these related findings:

This incentive—material inducements, that is money or the things that money can buy—appears to be powerful in our society and certainly is always described as being powerful. At the subsistence level it is powerful in fact, and any organization that occupies a large part of the time of its members must supply them with money or goods. Beyond the subsistence level, the theory that this incentive is decisive is largely an illusion.<sup>21</sup>

Even in our business civilization, with its exaltation of material values, the survey finds that “in spite of all persuasion this incentive remains relatively weak”. It offers, as proof, “the success and survival of many organizations, including some of the oldest, which have not been able to offer material benefits in large amounts”.

If we accept this proof, the achievements in work of the Kvutzot, as demonstrated statistically, need not surprise us. The Kvutza offers its members economic security as well as definite non-material rewards.

In the Kvutza, subsistence, whatever its level, is guaranteed to each on a non-competitive basis. We must assume certain standards below which no one can live without impairment of his physical as well as mental well-being. On the other hand, absolute standards are far from well established. If they were, they would take into consideration the attitude of individuals towards any given situation. Even a low standard of living, once above the level of starvation, will be more readily accepted if it does not imply personal failure or inferiority. Deprivations brought about by floods or earthquakes or by social catastrophes, such as wars, are borne more easily because they affect everyone equally. Resentment begins when (as in wartime) equality of

sacrifice is violated. In the Kvutza, with practically complete absence of privilege, such resentment does not arise.

Moreover, for every individual in a group which practises comprehensive co-operation, there is a lessened impact of his private worries. Such economic worries lose their sting through having become a concern of the whole group. The individual knows that so long as the others have a roof and have food on their tables he, too, will find shelter, nor will he be left wanting. Once minimum sufficiency is assured, and once the Kvutza exceeds a hundred members, concern about subsistence becomes so diffused that it loses its practical hold on any one person.

Among non-material work incentives, Barnard's investigation<sup>21</sup> found "personal non-material opportunities" on the one hand and "ideal benefactions" on the other, to be significant. Work in the Kvutza can be shown to have benefited from "opportunities for gaining distinction, prestige and personal power" and "ideal benefactions" (listed by Barnard as "loyalty to organization", "aesthetic feeling", and "altruistic services").

The whole social organization in the Kvutza apparently restricts opportunities for "gaining distinction", but actually, in its own way, considerably enlarges them. To the genuine Kvutzist, who fits into the pattern of co-operative living, his interests are identical with those of the group. Group success brought about through the efficiency of one of the members enhances the prestige of all.

That this vicarious gain can appeal greatly to a certain type of individual has been shown by the accelerated increase in Kvutzot. Such progress proves that for persons so inclined, these rewards are more gratifying and effective than those of competitive society. In Palestine, recognition as a Kvutzist implies a special consideration due to the respect given a member of a class which is thought to be in the vanguard of the country's progress. Thus, mere membership in a Kvutza carries with it a certain prestige.

That sense of a historic mission which impelled Jewish youth to return to agriculture also endows farming with new life through their assertion of themselves and their sense of personal power. One has only to look at Eastern youth, arriving in Palestine's harbours, direct from the virtual ghettos of Europe, and then see them after a year or two in a Kvutza. Pale faces, bent backs, narrow shoulders, and furtive gait have all disappeared. These signs of malnutrition, of unhealthy living con-

ditions, of mistreatment, are replaced by a straight back, tanned skins, and shoulders made broad by hard work in the fields. Above all, there is a supreme self-confidence in the eyes of these pioneers, and this has been gained through the knowledge that they had proved equal to a task once thought the hardest of all.

The present study deals largely with "loyalty to organization" in the Kvutza. In the earlier stages, little attention is given to the "aesthetic feelings". The standard of living does not then permit much more than the gratification of immediate wants. But so soon as this has been surpassed, the Kvutzist (like others who like their work) seeks to embody his aesthetic feelings in embellishing the outside and interior of his home, in his pride in the thriving appearance of his cattle and in their beauty.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, no other type of social organization stimulates more of what Barnard terms "altruistic service" but which we prefer to term "social responsibility". The sense of this responsibility pervades the Kvutza's life. It determines the member's attitudes towards duties and privileges. It is at the base of the scale of social values.

Personal experiences of pioneers may well illustrate these attitudes. We have the expressive testimony of Avraham Ben-Shalom, the author of *Deep Furrows* and a Kvutza member of long standing.<sup>23</sup> He writes of the "greater zeal" with which he worked in "collective economy than anywhere else". He did this because of positive motives as well as negative ones. Of these positive motives he has this to say: "Somehow collective responsibility and the desire to be a productive force and a creative individual within my group have proved to be stronger stimuli than the prospect of remuneration for my personal pocket."

The negative motive is mirrored in the observation that "In as intimate an organization as a Kibbutz is, based as it is on free labour, an individual feels disgraced not to strive to meet to the utmost the standards of his comrades".

This testimony does not prove that there is no shirking in the Kvutza, although Ben-Shalom avers that he cannot recall one instance of it.

When a member, after having proved his fitness during probation, lets down on the job, he is not dealt with harshly. First, he receives "friendly criticism", but should the case become chronic, the Kvutza has an effective weapon. The culprit finds that he is

surrounded by an unfriendly atmosphere. This is equivalent to social ostracism. It often leads to resignation by the incurable. Expulsions for inefficient work (the extreme penalty) are very rare.

A more serious difficulty for the Kvutza arises, quaintly enough, out of what Ben-Shalom calls "exaggerated devotion to work". The opposite of shirking, it may prove far more disturbing. It may assume varied disguises and get beyond control in groups to whom work has become a "religion". An instance given by Ben-Shalom illustrates this difficulty. A woman in charge of a vegetable garden developed "exaggerated devotion" to her work. She was obsessed by her desire to show better results than those achieved by anyone else. She rose long before the others to get her headstart. At first, this was her personal involvement, although the tension under which she worked might not have been to the taste of older members. But when tools or animals had to be distributed to the various branches of farming, she became a real nuisance. Fixed on her own achievement, she was unable to accept the priority of other aspects of farming, and the conflicts she provoked at these times proved as injurious and as embarrassing as though she were grossly inefficient.

The attitude, within the Kvutza, towards privilege is another instance of the sense of social responsibility. Committee work is unpaid. Also voluntary are services such as adult education and dramatics. No privileges are claimed or conceded despite such "extra-curricular" activities. Offices, such as that of delegate, coveted elsewhere, are here rather declined and are accepted only out of a sense of duty.

The social values of the group are sustained in the same spirit. In no sense codified, they are strongly imprinted on the membership. These values permit us to gauge the status of any individual in the community with fair accuracy. Social status in the Kvutza cannot be ascertained as easily as in our society; there is no bank account to make it simple. A member's reputation can rather be discovered from what is said about him during his absence, from the manner in which others look up and listen to him in Assembly, from the crowd he sits with when dinner is over, and other similar signs of appreciation. Here we find a fluid and changeable way of assigning social status which invites sociometric investigation. The only fixed indications on the scale of social values are "good worker" on top and "shirker"

at the bottom. Courage, intelligence, knowledge, sense of humour, all the qualities of good fellowship, are to be placed between these extremes.

This new feeling for social status as dependent on type of work is shown in the attitudes of women and children. The women had at first insisted on being given equally heavy and responsible work with that of men. Consequently, the men had to attend to duties normally done by women, such as those of the kitchen and laundry, mending, and so on, while women ploughed, ran tractors, dug ditches, and shouldered guns on guard duty. But over-exertion seriously damaged women's health. They soon realized that insistence on this form of equality was wasteful and absurd. Women have now returned to the type of work for which they are best adapted. Nevertheless, those who are strong enough and who acquire the necessary skills, are free to do the most arduous tasks.

When children brag about their parents, they reflect the particular social values of the Kvutza. Descent from a good family, wealth, or intellectual achievements of parents do not matter much. When the Kvutza child wishes to impress other children he does not say, "My father is rich." Instead, he says, "My father runs a tractor," or "My father milks twenty cows." Thus, without individual profit, non-material rewards suffice to produce a most positive attitude towards work in the Kvutza.

#### PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING WORK

Equally favourable are the physical and social conditions which determine work attitudes, particularly such factors as the attitude towards manual labour, the problem of authority and, finally, the place of the individual in the whole of the work process.

While a Kvutza is in its early stages, physical conditions cannot be too favourable. The national agencies often do not have the funds with which to equip a new colony with all necessary tools and materials. The delay causes many deficiencies in planning, as well as discomforts. Work morale naturally suffers under these conditions. But it rises when the settlers understand the causes of such obstacles. The national agencies have shown that they are ready to equip the Kvutzot with the most modern and efficient machinery. Any delay arises outside the agencies' control and is overcome as soon as funds are available. In the

established Kvutzot, physical conditions are comparable to those of the most progressive American farms and certainly more favourable than in neighbouring Palestinian communities.

The attitude towards manual labour is equally favourable. This is true throughout Jewish Palestine. In the Kvutza we even find a glorification of manual labour. This is partly because the settlement is in its pioneer stages. The rebuilding of Palestine is the goal towards which the whole Jewish population strives with varying intensities. At present the decisive aspect of reconstruction is agriculture, and, to a lesser degree, industry. Manual labour must, therefore, stand in high esteem.

But the need for such labour does not, of itself, explain the undoubted emotional emphasis on manual labour throughout Jewish Palestine. This high position arose out of the revolutionary meaning which Eastern Jewish youth gave to the resettlement of Palestine. For them Zionism meant (among other things) a protest against the conventions of their environment. Chief among these conventions was a deep contempt for manual occupations. This contempt arose from the ghetto-bred resentment against the exclusion of Jews from all but commercial occupations. The settlers revealed an ambivalent attitude and, as soon as manual work was provided, went over to the other extreme. Fanatic devotion to manual labour was characteristic of the earlier period of the Zionist resettlement. Though less melodramatic, the prestige of labour still grants a high social status to the manual labourer.<sup>24</sup>

Fatigue is affected by this attitude. In the Kvutza, workers get tired in farming, for a large majority of the settlers come from other occupations. A few of the candidates resigned before attaining full membership, for they could not stand the strain. But even in this, personal morale counts. Instances of frail girls, or middle-aged professionals, who became excellent workers contrast with sturdy youngsters who couldn't "take it". Except for this initial adjustment, however, there is nothing in the working conditions which would make for fatigue. Comprehensive co-operation, with the economic security and mutual aid it implies, permits a more flexible rhythm in work. The rhythm quickens when the common need so requires, as when crops must be hurried. It will relax in normal times or when there is no emergency. Work rhythm like this, rising voluntarily, can well produce exertion but rarely mental strain, which is the worst aspect of fatigue. The only exceptions are those of shirker and

"devotee" to exaggerated work, which are pathological from the Kvutza viewpoint.

Obviously there can be no commanding or obedience of the sort that imposes hardships : the problem of authority is inflected by the self-imposed discipline. Discipline is the "submission of an individual to a code of life which he himself has helped to create and which he has adopted", and which, as Ben-Shalom asserts out of his own experience, is "true freedom".<sup>25</sup>

Any grievance is remedied on the spot. Work planning is done by the General Assembly, of which each worker is a full-fledged member. His grievance is a common concern. This explains why work is borne with, in the earlier stages of the Kvutza, under conditions which would be intolerable to the wage-earner. The member does not complain. He knows that these conditions are not brought about through malicious exploitation but are part of a situation into which he has entered freely. He accepts them as a challenge. They strengthen, rather than weaken, his resolution towards the work in hand.

Finally, the status of the worker during the process of work is of importance because of its effect upon his initiative. In the Taylor system, the worker is assigned to an infinitesimal part of the products, and his performance is the same throughout the day. He finds little, if any, satisfaction in his work. His initiative, if he ever had any, must necessarily atrophy. Agriculture demands more versatility, generally, than industrial occupations.<sup>26</sup>

A Taylor system for agriculture has yet to be invented. Until then the farmer works with an awareness of the whole process and not merely with a mechanical interest in a disconnected part of the process. This requisite is as important in the Kvutza as anywhere else. It would seem, though, that its particular organization, its collectivism, might tend to reduce the individual's performance to a more repetitive level. This may or may not be a potential result of collectivism. Within the Kvutza the situation is otherwise. We should recall that it came into existence out of a revolt against the professional expert. There was a clash. The hired manager took his job as a job ; the Jewish pioneers took theirs as a mission. They felt that they would not fulfil that mission unless each became an expert. Immediately after their secession, the Kvutzists insisted on a type of democracy that gave everyone a chance to manage. The Management Committee was elected monthly, and none could be re-elected until all had served on the committee.<sup>27</sup> This proved inefficient

administration and yielded to annual elections. The spirit of democratic leadership was retained, and, though trained and skilled workers are kept on their jobs, every gifted or ambitious member is given a chance to get ahead. Shifting the unskilled from one branch to another enables them to find the field in which they excel. Everything is done to develop their aptitudes, even to the extent of sending them outside the colony to school, either in Palestine or abroad.

To give the individual a chance to develop his skill is not necessarily the same thing as to stimulate his initiative. In theory, the comprehensive co-operation practised might be thought to affect individual initiative adversely. This is maintained by those like Demangeon,<sup>28</sup> who writes that "it is the isolated independent individual farm which grants full initiative to the farmer". It is true that the individual farm, being considered "the most modern and most economical of rural establishments", has been generally adopted by European colonists recently established in the New World.<sup>29</sup> But it seems equally true (if we accept certain testimonies) that agricultural affairs of the United States, where the individual farm prevails, have often failed to prosper.<sup>30</sup> Oddly enough, the remedies suggested make wide use of the co-operative principle, as in the temporary co-operative farms of the Farm Security Administration. Even the Kvutza's comprehensive co-operation has been considered in this connection.<sup>31</sup> What interests us here, though, is that the Kvutza, on closer inspection, is not only built on initiative but actually increases it. Lowdermilk<sup>32</sup> observes that the reclamation project implied by Jewish agriculture "makes all Palestine a great experimental area". What can more stimulate initiative than active participation in such an experiment? After having satisfactorily stabilized its social system, the Kvutza now devotes itself to experimentation with methods and techniques of farm management.

The results of these experiments have won acclaim from qualified observers such as Lowdermilk and Hazen. These results could not have been obtained if the Kvutza's work conditions had impaired initiative. Of course, individual initiative, even here, is not found equally among the members. Whereas individual farming, however, makes the display of initiative dependent on initial investment capital, Kvutza initiative is independent of economic considerations. Social fair play abounds because those less endowed with initiative share equally in the

common achievement. Thus, the Kvutza offers the advantages which individual farming was thought to give for initiative, but without its evils.

To conclude, the physical and social conditions of the Kvutza's work provide enough incentive to stimulate work satisfaction as well as efficiency. There result not only achievement but also appreciation that labour is a "positive value" and a "source of creative joy".<sup>33</sup>

### THE DAILY WORK SCHEDULE

Before we discuss the economic achievement of the Kvutza, the sequence of activities will be helpful for understanding. The day begins, as in the Jewish calendar, at nightfall of the previous day. At that time the members consult the listing of work assignments posted by the committee at the entrance to the dining-hall. Those assigned to domestic service or to stable duty have to rise early. They are awakened by one of the kitchen crew who rings the bell at 4 a.m. They take their soap, towel, tooth-brush, and toothpaste and trudge to the shower rooms. There is rarely any crowding or time lost in waiting, for, though the showers may be limited, the members have so ordered themselves that there is little friction. After having washed, each goes to his assigned work. Those who work far from their living quarters take their breakfast, and sometimes lunch, with them. The others wait for the six o'clock bell. They then stop working and enter the dining-hall for breakfast, which takes thirty minutes.

Work is resumed until 11.30 a.m., the next bell. This time the intermission is two and a half hours to three hours in summer and one hour in winter. The workers wash before they enter the dining-hall. The lunch period is a time of rest and is so used according to individual taste. Parents may visit their children, with whom they talk or play. Other workers read newspapers or books, write their letters, enter discussions, or take a nap. At two o'clock, everybody goes back to work. At four, there is a fifteen-minute interruption for tea. The day's work ends at seven. The members, equipped with soap and towels, stream to the showers (the men also carry razors and brushes). They change their underwear and put on better clothes. After dinner everyone is free to do as he pleases. At nine o'clock the children go to bed. The workers play games, such as chess, or listen to the radio or the gramophone. Others attend lectures

by members or visitors. The members of committees hold their meetings. There are participants in other activities, such as courses, dramatics, sports, rhythmic dancing. Unless there is a special event to keep them up, such as a lively discussion or a noted guest, all are in bed by eleven. The number of hours each is allowed to sleep depends on the work to which he has been assigned.<sup>34</sup>

A detailed account of the distribution of work is given in the *Report*. It refers to the Kvutza Geva which had a membership of 110 in 1937 (60 men and 50 women) and a population of 215. The following statistical distribution for a working day is calculated on the average membership for 1936-37:

"7·6 members work in the fields, 9·6 in the cowsheds, 6·9 in poultry, 5·9 in the plantation, 40·0 in service and communal institutions, 10 are sent out as farm workers outside the village, 6·0 work in other branches, and 14·0 are on a holiday (excluding Saturdays)." <sup>35</sup>

The following typical figures are given for the Kvutza Dagania A for 1935-6: "productive work, 47 per cent; domestic service, 27 per cent; remainder, 26 per cent."<sup>36</sup>

Relatively few working days are lost because of personal reasons. The *Handbook* states that the maximum days lost annually because of illness is 35·6 in the Kvutza Ein Harod, and the minimum, 16·3 days, in Ginegar. If the annual vacation, Sabbaths, holidays, childbirth, suckling are included, maximum losses are, respectively, 107·9 and 85·3 days. To these must be added days of heavy rain, but in 1936 this loss was 2·4 days in Ein Harod and 3 days in Ginegar.<sup>37</sup>

#### ACHIEVEMENTS

The economic achievements of the Kvutza are essentially twofold. There are, first, the purely economic achievements of the Kvutza itself, second, those which, although mainly of benefit to the Kvutza, are of advantage to the whole economic area in which it operates.

The economic success of the Kvutza is attested by non-Zionist authorities as well as by Zionist agencies. Sir A. Wauchope, Henry A. Wallace, Lowdermilk, and Hazen admire Jewish colonization in general and the Kvutza markedly. Their opinions are best summed up in the *Report*: "Among the most remarkable achievements of post-war Palestine few are more

striking than the development of the co-operative movement by the Jewish community. The creation of an imposing economic structure by men without large means, under guidance of a handful of idealists, has an air of romance about it.”<sup>38</sup>

The following figures, revealing the profits of certain Kvutzot for 1935-6, corroborate this statement.<sup>39</sup>

Kvutza.	Annual income.	Annual expenses.	Annual profit.
	(all figures are in Palestinian pounds)		
Kefar Giladi . . . .	13,485	13,194	291
Kinneret . . . .	13,659	13,339	320
Dagania A . . . .	15,267	13,213	2,054
Kefar Gon . . . .	10,202	9,410	792
Gesher . . . .	16,539	14,211	2,328
Heftziba . . . .	10,762	9,149	1,613
Tel Yosef . . . .	25,022	24,622	400
Geva . . . .	11,941	10,613	1,328
Mizra . . . .	12,401	10,100	2,301
Ginegar . . . .	10,464	9,146	1,318
Gvat . . . .	11,374	10,266	1,108
Hasharon . . . .	7,904	7,143	761
Kiriat Anavim . . . .	15,713	15,557	156

The *Handbook* adds : “ In none of the older Kvutzot was there a loss : in 14 of the 16 of the newer Kvutzot there was a profit, in only two was there a loss.”

An improvement in the economy of the Kvutzot may be deduced from the findings of Hazen, who states :<sup>40</sup>

“ Although every Kvutza of Palestine has had to be subsidized by the Zionist organization for a long time after its establishment, the great majority of the Kvutzot are now conducted on a self-sustaining basis and most of them have shown substantial operating profits since 1935.”

It is true that the profits cited above may not seem impressive to the business man who calculates in terms of capital investment and attractiveness of returns. Economic success for this type of colonization, however, differs from success in commercial enterprise. If it is true, as the survey of the Sosua experiment found, that “ successful settlement of the refugee cannot yield profit beyond perhaps a nominal return on a reasonable capital cost ”, then the Kvutza has been eminently successful.<sup>41</sup> This success becomes more striking when measured by the standards

which still prevail among most Palestinian peasants, the fellahs. The *Report* (p. 11) characterizes this standard as a "state of overwhelming poverty" and as "hopelessly encumbered and, to all intents and purposes, insolvent". It must be remembered that the Jewish pioneer had to start from practically the same, if not worse, external conditions as the Arab peasants. True enough, he received outside financial help (which the Arab never did) but this help was neither large nor prompt. Thus, so far as original working conditions go, the Jewish settlers were no better off than the Arabs. In view of this—to say nothing of the backward economic position of their countries of origin—the high praises given them seem not undeserved.

Even more worth-while than its purely economic results, though, are the services rendered to the country by the Kvutzot. The Kvutza, especially, has taken the lead in land reclamation. The two serious obstacles in Palestine agriculture are, as noted, erosion on the one hand and water difficulties on the other. The colonists have helped alleviate both. We may here refer to the testimony of Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the Soil Conservation Service and N. W. Hazen, Assistant Agricultural Economist, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, both in the United States Department of Agriculture.

After having studied land reclamation in the Near East, Lowdermilk returned expressing admiration for the work of Jewish colonists in Palestine. He writes that the Jewish settlers show "the most remarkable devotion to land and the reclamation of land" that he had seen "in any country of the New or Old World". He also points out that "the findings of Jewish agricultural colonization are fraught with significant consequences for the whole world and for the United States in particular". He attests that the revitalization of the soil is given careful consideration in Palestine and that two leading research bodies, the Research Station of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Rehobot Agricultural Experimental Station, are concerned therewith. Special praise, he adds, should be given to the Jewish Agency's reforestation work. On the "barren rocky hills on Jewish land unfitted for cultivation . . . trees are planted in the soil pockets of the limestone foundation" and thus help to save what is left of the soil. Lowdermilk found twenty-one such forests, ranging from 15,000 to 570,000 trees. The growth of these trees was rapid, from one to two feet a year, and their refreshing green contrasted strikingly with the barren rocks.

"over which still roam the goats (the black locusts !) of the Arabs".<sup>42</sup>

Hazen gives additional details of reclamation. These refer to the Palestinian water anomaly : the fight against swamps and malaria, and the search for water.

Of great aid in the fight against malaria was the Malaria Research Unit founded by American Jews and attached to the Palestine Department of Health. The main work of drainage and reclamation, however, fell to the Kvutzot. For a long time they almost exclusively represented Zionist agricultural endeavour in Palestine. For some time the most important concentrations of the Kvutzot were in the National Fund land in the Valley of Jezreel, in the Maritime Plain, and in the Jordan Valley. These show the best reclamation results. "This extensive area, which was formerly either covered with swamps or sparsely inhabited by a highly infected population, has been converted into fertile land now covered by many new agricultural settlements."<sup>43</sup>

Important to the drainage of the country was the eucalyptus, introduced for its water absorption and for its wood. Large groves of eucalyptus can be seen near most of the Kvutzot.

In Palestine, irrigation means a livelihood to five times as many people as does non-irrigated land. Since Palestine lacks surface-water and rainfall, well-digging has become an important source of water. The Kvutza's diversified farming increased water needs and intensified the search. From 1933 to 1936, Jewish companies made 473 borings, of which 396 were successful. In 1937, when Hazen's article was published, the wells exceeded 3,000, and it was estimated that 1,000 more could be dug without damage to existing wells. Most of the wells were equipped with modern pumps. Each supplied an average of 1,750 cubic feet of water per hour, a rate greatly exceeded by the new wells.<sup>44</sup>

Many Kvutzot (our own observation) have opened water resources to neighbouring Arabs to promote friendship. The picturesque Arab women, balancing earthen vessels (jaras) on their heads, can be seen early in the morning, as they descend the hills towards the Kvutzot wells.

Equally significant, and of benefit beyond Palestinian boundaries, are the farm management results of the Kvutzot. The basic step was the simultaneous adoption of mixed farming and group settlement by the Zionist Organization.

Group settlement and diversified farming were natural complements. Group settlement colonized the largest number with

a minimum of investment and financial risk, while diversification most assured their subsistence and also permitted the full-time employment of the members. Citrus groves appeared more profitable, but they called for more investment and offered only seasonal work. Citrus fruit later proved shaky as a profit basis, for the war ended the export of oranges and grapefruit. The growers would then have liked to turn their groves to other uses.<sup>45</sup>

The Kvutzot and Moshavim have thus become "the food granaries of the country", providing it with over 60 per cent. of its wheat, barley and oats, as well as 60 per cent. (36 million litres annually) of its milk, 60 million eggs, and 20,000 tons of vegetables.<sup>46</sup>

Hazen rightly states that diversification helped improve not only the land but also the quality of farm products. It helped introduce fruits and vegetables formerly unknown in Palestine and improved the quality of cattle and poultry. The wine grape, the first large cash crop, has thus declined since 1917 in favour of the table grape. The wine grape area diminished, while the table grape gained steadily and in 1937 was four times the wine grape acreage. In this, the Kvutzot in the Valley of Jezreel have taken the lead. The table grape was but a new variety of a formerly abundant crop. Bananas, avocados, and pecans were not grown until the colonists introduced them. The banana, favoured by children, has flourished in Palestinian soil, and several thousand acres, mostly in the Jordan Valley, grow these trees.

The colonists have pioneered in modern methods of cultivation and fertilization for growing of vegetables. All vegetables common elsewhere can now be found in Palestine. Of more recent date are the asparagus, celery, the artichoke (imported from the United States) and a high quality of mushroom imported from England. For a short period, off-season vegetables were even exported to Europe. This ceased with the war.

Dairy farming is the special pride of the settlers. Their first solid buildings were for housing their cattle. The Kvutzists were determined to equal the best European dairying standards. Breed and fodder were the challenges. After years of experimentation, the best breed was found to be the Syrian cow crossed with Frisian cattle from Holland; the fodder problem was met by clover, lucerne, vetch, and corn cultivated through irrigation. The milk production is noteworthy. Though the average annual yield of the native cow ranges from 100 to 150 gallons, the new breed produces 770 to 1,000 gallons.<sup>47</sup>

In poultry raising, the Leghorn hen was crossed with the native breed. The new fowl was admirably adapted to the climate. The native hen's yield of about 70 eggs per year has been doubled and trebled. The methods used in poultry raising are of the same high modern standard as in cattle breeding. The hen-houses in the Kvutza are of the latest type, the diet scientifically controlled. The newest techniques are applied both to breed and yield. Egg production rose from 8 million in 1926 to 76 million in 1936, and at an accelerated tempo. No wonder that, as Hazen attests, Jewish dairy and poultry farming are "already famed throughout the Near East".<sup>48</sup> He adds :

The methods used in Jewish agricultural settlements have in some cases also been cited as fitting examples for use in nearby countries where many antiquated methods still exist. The government of Palestine itself uses many of the agricultural methods developed by the Jewish colonists as examples for the improvement of Arab agriculture while its experimental stations distribute to the Arab farmers large quantities of seeds and saplings acquired in the Jewish settlements.

Apart from its benefit to Arab farming, the special Kvutzot contribution is stressed by the *Report* (p. 80) :

From the point of view of the community the Kvutza offers all the advantages of controlled and planned mass production. It is well known in Palestine that for high quality products, unadulterated milk, pure cream, and exotic vegetables and fruits, one can always turn to the Kvutzot. There are very few institutions in Palestine which have developed specialized farming for the market to such an extent.

Some Kvutzot, additionally, have begun to incorporate small-scale industry into their economy. One produces boxes for fruit shipments, another knitted goods, still another boots and furniture, and so on. This adds to cash income but is symptomatic of the need to be independent of the city. Recently, some of the Kvutzot on Lake Tiberias (and even some on the Dead Sea) have turned to fishing as the principal income producer. "Jewish fish production rose in 1941 to 23 per cent. of total catches and continues to progress."<sup>49</sup>

The Kvutza has also been of value as a centre for large immigrant groups and as the most economic and thorough training ground for Zionist settlers. Of the 12,272 workers, immigrating in 1939 and registered with the Histadrut, 3,384 were absorbed by the Kibbutzim. A considerable number were sent to the Kvutzot by the Youth Aliya as well, as were thousands

of urban workers who lost their jobs when war broke out and who found a temporary haven in the Kvutzot. They not only offered shelter to the needy who were willing to work and training to those who chose farming, but also gave them experience in a new way of life. This was more significant experience than could be obtained in a farm school or through hiring out to a farmer. The rich and special experience of the Kvutza in its years of struggle cannot be conveyed by any curriculum but is acquired by prolonged contact with its skilled personnel. Besides its economic significance, this experience may prove the greatest single morale asset of the Zionist resettlement programme. Through its offer of participation to those fit and willing, the Kvutza contributes to the whole Zionist development more than any statistics can show. As the *Report* rightly observes (p. 80) : "These services which the Kvutzot render to the Jewish colonizing organizations have their value and should be included in any calculations which are made of the cost and of the returns of these collective settlements."

Thus we see that the absence of the profit motive in the Kvutza does not prevent its attaining considerable (though possibly qualified) economic successes. These successes are significantly related to the attitudes towards work which prevail there. These achievements are brought about because nothing reduces joy in work and because most impulses are fostered which make work satisfying. We may be justified, then, in thinking that, in so far as the Kvutza witnesses, the absence of the profit motive is compatible with economic achievement and with genuine satisfaction in work.

## CHAPTER III

### THE HUMAN ELEMENT

As a definitely ordered pattern of human relationships, the Kvutza, like all plurality patterns, is a social structure which transcends, in one sense, the particular individuals who form it.<sup>50</sup> Yet the group can never be greater than the sum total of individuals. It will suffer when there are too few individuals to carry out its vital functions, and it may then be unable to continue. But so long as the membership is above this danger point, its number may fluctuate without seriously threatening its existence. Officially, the Kvutza is an "incorporated company association" and is thus largely independent of changes within its membership.

At first, only the small settlement seemed to promise success. That meant about twenty men and women. But we now know that a thousand members, as in Yagur, may be effective. The average membership in the Kvutza is about two hundred.

Hence, the loss of any unspecialized member may not be serious, but the loss of the dairy expert, for example, if he is not easily replaceable, might really hurt. The specialist's work is still significant.

There are safeguards against this danger. No member can assume a post with real responsibility before he has spent a considerable time in the group. The longer he remains, the less possibility of his leaving. Furthermore, the Kvutza is part of a higher organization, the Kibbutz (see Chapter VIII) and through it can borrow an expert from another Kvutza.

It is thus important to keep a nucleus of permanent, tested members to assure teamwork. But the Kvutza has become "the cradle of the rural working class of Palestine" to train the future farmers of the Homeland. Hence, a relatively large turnover is not abnormal.<sup>51</sup>

The Kvutza is further concerned with the education of new contingents of efficient workers. It goes beyond the reception of unsolicited newcomers. At intervals it sends delegates abroad. They not only are propagandists for Zionism but also pay special attention to potential Kvutza members. Their work, prior to the Second World War, was regrettably made easier by the anti-Semitism of Germany, Poland, Rumania, and Austria.

Where the delegate once had to use his powers of persuasion to convince casual listeners of the meaning of Palestine, he now had to ward off hosts of anxious men and women. He was a messenger of salvation. He no longer sought proselytes, he had petitioners. It was not pleasant to have to remind them of the "schedule"—the quota of immigrants allowed by the British administration—and to ask them to be patient.

One illustration reveals the passion to emigrate to Palestine. A gang of crooks opened a Warsaw office and offered illegal transportation to Palestine. Many of their customers had to sell all they possessed to pay the exorbitant price. They thought it worth that sacrifice. The passengers assembled in a Polish harbour and there embarked. The anchors were weighed, and they were happily sailing for Zion. Days passed and with them many coasts and harbours, but they could not land : their trip was illegal. At last they were told to be ready. They were taken off at midnight. They were told to proceed to the next settlement where their brethren would care for them. But when morning came they were in a Polish hamlet ! It was near the very harbour from which they sailed. Nothing can tell us more of the peacetime need for salvation than this pathetic instance.

#### CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS

Nearly all members of the Kvutzot come, as do most Palestinian colonists, from European lands in which Jews have been persecuted. A very small minority are those who grew up in Palestine itself. First, there are the farm school graduates (among which Ben-Shemen is pre-eminent) who prefer Kvutza work to paid jobs. There are high-school youths who have sometimes helped in vintage or harvest, or have just "roughed it". Some are so attracted that they join the settlements just after graduation. One Kvutza, Hahugim, was founded by a group of these high-school graduates.

A much smaller contingent is the Yemenite Jew, indigenous to Arabia. They are the lowest stratum of Palestine Jewry. Induced by the Palestine Office, they left Yemen about 1910. They became a cheap, untrained labour supply. Their extreme poverty conjoined to their Oriental background isolated them from Palestinian Jewry. Very few of their youth have entered the Kvutza.

The stream of new candidates still flows from out of the

Diaspora into the Kvutza. Apart from individual differences arising out of temperament, character, intellect, and political convictions one meets with social, educational, and "national" differences consequent upon the dispersion among the nations.

The immigrants come from various classes. There are sons of well-to-do tenants of large Polish estates, daughters of rabbis, children of Rumanian peddlers who can eat meat only on Friday evening. There are the offspring of Austrian financiers who think nothing too good for their own. Here they meet, all made equal by their shared deprivation. Those whose background was poverty are most numerous because, outside Germany, the Jews largely belong to the poorest of the poor.

Differences in education are not so pronounced. The majority of Kvutza members have a high intellectual standard. Walter Preuss, in 1926, submitted the following figures after questioning 24,247 immigrants.

	Percentage.
College . . . . .	4·4
High School . . . . .	40·4
Grade School . . . . .	30
Private Tutoring or Jewish Private Schools . . . . .	21·8

These figures are still higher for purely agricultural workers, for whom they show college and high-school students to comprise 56·65 per cent. against the average of 44·8 per cent.<sup>52</sup>

The ambition of even the poorest Jew is to provide education for his children, and for this he will make any sacrifice. Hence the high percentage of intellectuals in the Kvutza. But even those who have not studied for the doctorate have been stimulated by the Youth movement, if by nothing else, to take a genuine interest in intellectual matters. The pioneer is pictured with one hand holding the plough and the other a book. This evidences the prevailing attitude towards educational standards. Every Kvutza has its library, quite well stacked and filled to capacity in leisure hours. This eagerness goes well with efficient farming. The Jewish intellectual is once more firm on his traditional soil.

#### PERSONAL ADJUSTMENTS

The immigrants encounter many difficulties in fitting into their new environment. Most of these difficulties can be traced to the diverse cultures represented.

A basic cleavage exists between the two largest groups, easily distinguished as eastern and western Jews. The former have had a much more uniform culture. Those from Poland, Russia, Rumania, Hungary, the Balkans, and the Baltic states have been more separate, culturally, from the nationals in their respective countries. They were subject to anti-Semitic arrogance ; they compensated with a secret, though cherished, sense of spiritual superiority. They cultivated their distinctive Jewish traditions and preserved their specific Jewish characteristics very markedly. An additional unifying influence, though it waned in the last decades, had been the Hassidic movement, widespread in certain areas. The Hassidic pilgrimages to the "Good-Jew", the miracle-working rabbi, helped to keep distant communities in regular contact with each other. Prior to their emigration to Palestine, the youth of these groups had rebelled against their fathers' ways. Since their rebellion took on much the same expression, they had little difficulty, generally, in understanding each other.

Less contact was to be found within the western grouping. The young Jews of Austria, Belgium, Germany, Holland, England, France, and the United States were far more assimilated. They lacked the unifying tradition of Jewish culture ; they varied much more in outlook, predilections, idiosyncrasies, and, above all, language. This youth, unlike the eastern group, have, on the whole, no knowledge of Yiddish. They speak the languages of their respective countries supplemented by other languages learned in school.

A large influx of eastern Jews, fleeing from the Tsarist invaders, had entered Austria since 1914 and had retarded total assimilation. They were not too welcome, but they were numerous. In Germany, where local Jewry had been outspokenly hostile to any such influx, assimilation had gone on apace. The German Jew looked upon himself as a German of "Mosaic faith". The German Jew was shocked to find that nationality was not a matter of self-bestowal but was now governed by political expediency. "I decide who is, or is not a Jew," said Goering. The realization was painful, yet the culture, learning, and language of the German immigrant in Palestine remained German.

The only common object of western Jews was their relatively high standard of living—the private bathroom and the flushing toilet-bowl. But there was no "spirit" to unite the assimilated

Belgian and German Jew ; neither felt more than an incidental attachment to Judaism.

The German Jews probably had the greatest difficulty in making the adjustment. Others, Belgians, Dutch, even Americans, although perhaps as much assimilated, seem to have had a latent traditional feeling which could be conjured into new life. But even with the Germans, their will to reconstruct, and the assimilation powers of co-operation in the Kvutza, helped them greatly. In the Kvutza, it was found that though the German Jew took a little longer to adjust himself, yet he did this effectively. Both eastern and western youth, if they really wished to co-operate, soon learned that type of behaviour in the Kvutza.

True, those whose background was more similar were more likely to associate ; they may even have decided to remain with each other, as did the Americans in the Kvutza Ein Hashofet. But generally, once within the Kvutza, the mere confrontation with a new form of social organization overcame all imported distinctions. Whatever language they had previously spoken, in the colony they had to master the "old-new" medium—Hebrew. After a relatively short time they employed their native speech only for the most intimate conversations.

The settlements here, as in self-government, have shown a remarkable capacity for integrating diverse human elements. The experience was an admirable tool of colonization.

#### " CAREER "

We have seen that everyone must work in the Kvutza, even a guest of three days. Should the guest wish to join, he need only announce his intention and, if accepted, he becomes a "candidate". He is instantly accorded the same treatment (in almost everything) as a member. He is given a room (as good as is available). He eats with the others and does the work assigned. He has, however, the right to keep his personal belongings as his property. But he has no vote in the General Assembly and may be excluded from sessions when more intimate matters are discussed.

The ownership of private property may seem contrary to Kvutza doctrine. But this is not a repressive community. Its laws are "ideal" postulates, formulated by the members, to be obeyed out of self-discipline. A gift received from home is an intrusion of private property. The problem is handled undogmatically. Books and records, say, are useless to the individual.

He is bound to put them to public use. Where the gift consists of candies or cookies, it is natural, since they are limited, to distribute them to close associates. But this use of "private property" can scarcely disturb. First, there is a taint in that privilege which goes far to prevent its abuse. The "candidate", the probationary member, is apt to exaggerate his contempt for private property, knowing that his behaviour is being observed and his attitudes weighed.

The period of "candidacy" is not regulated as to duration. Generally, six months suffices, but some Kvutzot require a full year. In any case, the vote is taken only upon the request of the newcomer. His bearing in the probationary period has an important influence on their decision. Awareness of this may produce some varieties of dissimulation. The "candidate" may make an uncharacteristic show of activity, or, out of perverted honesty, show his worst qualities to give the Kvutza an "undistorted" picture of himself. The end of the "candidacy" is thus often a turning point in his behaviour.

Ordinarily, a year, or half-year, with a person will reveal his virtues and failings. One "candidate" who waited seven years, only to be rejected, was unique. Usually, when one feels he is not being considered favourably he leaves rather than risk rejection by a formal vote.

Once accepted, the "candidate" is granted all the duties and privileges of a full member. He brings his "private property" into the communal storehouse. He may participate fully in all meetings. There are no members of the first and second order. There is no seniority. At Waydhofen on the Ybbs, in Austria, for example, the oldest members were a privileged circle in the co-operative, to which the more recently admitted were subordinated. Theoretically, all inequality is taboo in the Kvutza. But, in reality, though "patriarchal" differentiation does not take place,<sup>53</sup> the behaviour of the "old-timers" towards newer and less experienced members savours of this. Contacts occur in which the older member, though equal, patronizes the younger. Bonds, founded on similarity of origins, convictions, and shared interests sometimes result in "cliques" with their dangerous possibilities. There have been sporadic cases of "hazing" the newcomers, merely to show superiority. Even female members have been known to haze. Over-emphasis on masculine qualities may bring about such occasional rudeness.

It depends on the new member how long it takes him to be established, and the intensity of his association is also mostly dependent on himself. He knows that no inefficient worker enjoys consideration. His intellectual capacity must also be high. He finds that social standards are not those of his former society. His position is judged by the way others behave towards him, by the eagerness with which they listen in the Assembly, or from their desire for his company in their spare time. Appreciation is also shown more formally in selection for posts of responsibility, in election to committees, and appointments to delegacies. The opinion of his fellows, so expressed, is more indicative of his social standing than are lines in the social column of the standing of an American socialite.

These Kvutza standards reveal, in their working, that types found elsewhere, subsist in the settlement. They are all there, from the gently ridiculed eccentric outsider to the parvenu, here exemplified by the relatively new member who has succeeded in "setting the fashion" and in taking a hand in shaping important decisions. These characters are not restricted to property societies. Differentiation and stratification are essential to any form of association. They must remain, therefore, in a communal society as well.

#### MOTIVES FOR RESIGNATION

Expulsions from the Kvutza are rare. The relatively long period of probation is one safeguard. Rarely does a member become so obnoxious, after admission, that it is impossible to tolerate him. When it does happen, he is given every opportunity to plead his case. Only if there is no other way out will he be expelled.

Resignations are far more frequent. There are four reasons : (1) matters of principle ; (2) personal adjustments ; (3) economic reasons ; (4) political opinions.

(1) *Matters of principle* refer to what type of settlement is best for Palestine. The Kvutza is one of three types of agricultural settlements in Palestine. The other two are the traditional village and the small-holders' settlement, the Moshav. The traditional village, individualist, invites no comparison. But the Moshav is intermediate between individualism and the Kvutza. Here the settler lives in his own house, owns a piece of land and some cattle. The members co-operate in using

more elaborate agricultural machines, such as tractor and harvester, in taking care of bulls, in education and in play, and in producing, buying, and selling required goods. (See Chapter XI for a more detailed discussion.)

This combination of individualism and collectivism, somewhat as in the Russian Kolkhoz, appeals to those who, dissatisfied with comprehensive co-operation, yet wish to remain farmers. It is better suited to their temperament. They leave the Kvutza and seek admission to the Moshav.

(2) *Personal adjustments* involve, first of all, inability to establish intimate contact within the Kvutza. Cases of extreme introversion, self-consciousness, and shyness, imagined or real, lack of physical attractiveness (a lack productive of spinsters and elderly bachelors in our society) are found in the settlement as well. Such cases are difficult of treatment. If a boy or girl has failed to find a partner, sexual attractions are diminished by familiarity, and he must await a newcomer. But new members are often younger and have their own attachments. The work does not help anyone, especially girls, to look young and attractive. Co-operative intimacy helps to make personal isolation unendurable. The unhappy member can only quit.

Some are dissatisfied with their status. If the cause is excess of ambition which cannot be satisfied in an egalitarian society, they must conform or leave. But sometimes they surmise, whether this be real or fancied, that the group does not appreciate them properly. They think their acts misinterpreted for no obvious reason. The Kvutza, here, is not helpful. The weight of public opinion does not allow for much personal sympathy as an offset. Only an accident, such as a grave malady, an unexpected deed, or sudden recognition from outside the group, can improve matters. The unexpected seems a fundamental condition for the reversal of public opinion. But if this is too long delayed, the despondent member may resign.

(3) *Economic reasons* are also significant. During the boom years, 1933 to 1936, in Palestine, some members found that they could make much money in the country, while at the same time their wretched parents, caught in the catastrophic economic situation in eastern Europe, needed financial help badly. The Kvutzot were compelled to include, in their annual budgets, sums for the relief of parents or relatives of members. But available means were not enough for minimal needs. Hence, when even unskilled workers could make high wages and could

save considerable amounts above their daily requirements, those who had to relieve their parents took limited leaves of absence. Sometimes, these became permanent. Prosperity kept its lure long after the original purpose had been fulfilled.

(4) *Political opinions* may cause resignation. The Kvutza may come to be regarded as either too radical or too reactionary by some members. The political dissenter, who sees he must come into conflict with the membership, is the first to leave. Those who think the Kvutza too radical are not lost to Palestine nor to colonization, for they make their way to the small-holders' settlements or to the cities for industrial employment. But, prior to the Second World War, those who found the Kvutza too reactionary often preferred to leave Palestine. Some returned to Europe, some found their way to Biro-Bidjan.

In addition to these four important reasons for resignation, other psychological and physiological causes may be cited. The desire for new experiences strongly influences the pioneer. It may remain unsatisfied after settlement in the Kvutza. In most cases, to take part in a vital and radically new social organization whose outcome depends on oneself is enough. But where joining the Kvutza results from expectation of thrills, the sober reality of hard work may lead to disillusion and resignation.

Another cause is that of health. Since he who eats must work, the genuine Kvutza member feels sorely that he is a burden when he does not do his full share. Where, as with malaria, a speedy cure may be aided by a change of climate, leaves of absence can be arranged. Members who do not want to burden the group may, however, choose to resign.

Lastly, some of the pioneers, wishing to create that which was new, found their interest lessened by achievement. This was common at the beginning of the settlements and is characteristic of the pioneer mind. The people thus affected moved on to new, unconquered areas, merely to enjoy the thrill of starting from scratch. But as the country developed, this motive has lessened and has now virtually disappeared.

All these motives, singly or combined, have played their part in exodus from the settlements. As a rule, individuals leave alone or in small groups. Sometimes, an important secession occurs which endangers the very existence of the group. For instance, there is a Kvutza, in the Kibbutz Arzi, the largest part of which decided to join the Kibbutz Hameuhad. Those who did not wish to change to the other Kibbutz resigned as a group.

## CHAPTER IV

### SOCIAL CONTROL

No group can long endure without the so-called "sustaining forces" which sociology terms, in their totality, "social control". On the one side, these forces are chiefly the codes of law and of custom, together with folkways and mores, and on the other, sanctions, rewards, and penalties.<sup>54</sup>

It is interesting to see how the present codes and sanctions in the Kvutza originated. They arose despite a threefold protest against the codes of their society. Youth came to the Kvutza as the patent expression of their antagonism towards their parents' ossified life-patterns. They rejected the inferiority assigned them by anti-Semitism. They rejected exploitation which they held to be the social cause of that discrimination.

Moreover, these young people came to Palestine after the First World War. They had either served in the war or been subjected to it. They had seen established values destroyed by their guardians and knew the depths of inhumanity in the pogroms after the war. The immigrant to Palestine had tense nerves, faced a strange climate, encountered strange habits, and felt the load of great responsibilities. Less wonder that their agitation was extreme, so that they gloried in protest against any inhibitions.

They came from oppression ; they easily became contemptuous of order, as such. They were ready to sacrifice health, even life, but they were impatient with regular work and sober routine. In the proper mood they worked with superhuman energy ; the following day, they were listless. They experimented with untried forms of sexual relations and with dietary fads. They went to the extremes of joy and depression. The Hebrew term "matzav ruach" (state of mind) came to mean "depressed state of mind".

Group cohesion was naturally weak. That many Kzutzot survived this initial anarchy evidences their extraordinary will to succeed.

#### THE PROCESS OF DISCIPLINE

Like any other group, the Kvutza had to go through the process of self-discipline. It had to regulate and co-ordinate its

functions so that it might not waste away because of frictions. This stabilization claimed its victims. Those who could not bear the "disillusionment" left for the cities, or emigrated, or, in some tragic instances, committed suicide. One illustration: Ernst, aged eighteen, a youth completely idealistic, was won over to Zionism. He opposed his wealthy family to the limit. He quit school and prepared himself for pioneer life in Palestine. Three months after arrival he was a suicide. Friends said he did not feel himself fit to participate in the great adventure.

Regulation and co-ordination became effective in the Kvutza only when codified. Actually the Kvutza is subject to two different codes of law. In sociological terms, the Kvutza is a community in that it is a group with common aims "occupying a territorial area" and "circumscribing largely or even wholly the life of its members". But as a group organized "expressly for the purpose of pursuing certain of its interests all together" the Kvutza is an association.<sup>55</sup> As a community it is subject to Palestinian law, and any action which contravenes law is subject to court penalties. But, as an association, it has developed an internal legal code, which we term "the law of the Kvutza". Stipulations and rules have grown out of the sum of its economic necessities and the ideological attitudes of the membership. This ideology combines Zionist tenets and socialist postulates. The leading economic motive is to make farming pay. The "spirit of the law" reflects both ideological tenets and chief economic motives. The enterprise of building the Jewish Homeland on the basis of social justice is reflected in practical truths, as that the crops will fail if not sown at the proper time, that grapes will rot if not plucked in time, that cows will sicken if not milked. This "spirit of the law" is reflected in actual Kvutza law for regulating internal and external relations. As quoted by Walter Preuss, the law is based on ten points:

- (1) The land is nationalized: it can never become private property.
- (2) All work is done by the group itself: all members must participate therein.
- (3) The group is subordinate to the "Association of Workers".
- (4) Absolute personal and communal responsibility for work done.
- (5) Equality of members both in work and in living standards, common education of their children, joint responsibility for the

aged and invalids, equality in living conditions and in privileges for all group members.

(6) Regulation of property rights in accordance with the stipulations of the "Association of Workers", especially concerning inheritance and private property originating outside the Kvutza.

(7) Election of the members by the group itself.

(8) Freedom of the individual in politics, religion, party affiliations.

(9) Observation of basic Kvutza principles in dealing with other Kvutzot.

(10) Settlement of disputes within the "Association of Workers".<sup>56</sup>

This law states no sanctions. These were omitted, so long as the Kvutza remained a primary group, in which all relations are person to person. Any violation can be dealt with individually and needs no impersonal formulation.

#### THE "LAW" OF THE KVUTZA

How is this law applied in the actual life of the Kvutza? The division of labour, especially in diversified farming, involves varied tasks. The individual aptitudes and interests of members must be considered when assigning work, if the best results are to be achieved. This problem becomes easier as stabilization proceeds and efficient teamwork develops. For all that, this work assignment problem will always remain crucial in the group.

How then is this handled? According to point (3) of the law, the Kvutza receives general directions from the "Association of Workers", and these directions are received through its own Kibbutz. Point (4) is taken care of by the General Assembly. This Assembly, consisting of all members, determines the outline of seasonal planning. Once accepted, these outlines are translated into everyday assignments by the Work Assignment Committee, elected for this purpose. In this way, all designations bear the imprint of general consent. This makes the legislators and administrators of the rules identical; however, where these individuals are also identical with those subject to the regulations, little harm can result.

All other Kvutza activities are similarly conducted. The General Assembly determines broad outlines. The executive

function is left to committees co-ordinated in a central committee. Any special problem is presented ordinarily to a committee chosen *ad hoc*. Such committees, organized for many phases of activity, include the "Budget", "Culture", "Personal Needs", and "Health" committees. As Ben-Shalom reports, his Kvutza formed a "Committee on Names for New-Born Children".<sup>57</sup>

In addition, special tasks are assigned to individuals. Offices of "Treasurer", "Secretary", and what Ben-Shalom terms "Co-ordinator of Work" have been established. The treasurer, "econom", among other duties, represents the Kvutza in its relations with outside agencies.

Originally, with uncritical egalitarianism, there was a more frequent rotation of responsibilities. At present, most committees and other officers serve for at least a year. Some tasks, such as that of treasurer, which imply a thorough acquaintance with matters and persons outside the Kvutza, remain in the same hands for longer periods. The group does its best to prevent excessive tenure of office.

#### PUBLIC OPINION AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

No distinctive customs, folkways, or mores can be observed in the Kvutza. Here "community" aspects prevail over "association". The group adopts the basic customs of Palestinian Jewish settlement. The language is Hebrew, common to all Jews in Palestine. Dress is the "Wandervogel" uniform, short pants and open Schiller shirt for men, and the "dirndl" or "sarafan" for women. These are generally worn by the workers. Ritual at births, weddings, funerals, and festivals are the same as for the Jewish working class in Palestine. Even the moral code enjoining "good work" as primary, although more binding in the Kvutza, is respected by Jewish manual workers throughout Palestine. In only one respect has the Kvutza developed a specific code of custom. This is in public opinion, whereby folkways and mores are made effective.

The principal instrument of public opinion is the General Assembly, the central administrative and judicial agency. It exercises great influence on members' attitudes. It helps to harmonize conflicting opinions; it elevates prevailing convictions into maxims. The General Assembly can make or break a reputation, it can lend support to hesitant trends and

make them triumph, it can stop movements which appear perilous, and it can initiate slogans which turn doubts into accepted truth. The "moderates" submit willingly. The "radicals", though they may resist, realize that the disruption of the General Assembly would mean the disintegration of the Kvutza itself.

In the early period, before routine prevailed, need for the General Assembly's direction was greater than to-day. At that time, exaggerated ideas of democratic procedure allowed any member, faced with a problem, to call the Assembly. Consequently, "life was flooded with evening sessions that wore out the comrades in mind and body and made at least some of the discussions pointless".<sup>58</sup>

There is now generally one session a week. Significant political or social issues are the province of the Assembly; other matters are dealt with by the committees. This signifies more than stabilization. It indicates that the use of the General Assembly, as the main agency of public opinion, largely depends on the size of the group. So long as the group is small, it is easy to bring the membership together. But once it grows to beyond a thousand, as in Yagur (Chapter VIII, Table 1), this is more difficult. The primary group nature of the Kvutza is then in question. Once intimate personal relationships lose their predominance, familial associations tend to be replaced by those of a secondary group. Such a group may practise comprehensive co-operation, but it can scarcely exercise direct control over opinion. The role of the General Assembly in shaping public opinion, hitherto dependent on primary-group relations, must undergo important change. This change, in its turn, modifies profoundly the character of the Kvutza.

#### SANCTIONS

Since no institutional sanctions exist in the Kvutza, there are no courts, judges, fines, gaols, orders, titles, or promotions. Codified sanctions are superfluous, owing to the supervision made possible by the proximity of members. Incipient violations of the rules are bound to be noticed at once. A remark, frown, reproach is usually all that is needed to stop the transgression. A word of appreciation, or increased attention, is the reward of showing one's mettle.

The only formal punishment is expulsion. Before this is

applied, the members have to be convinced that utter inability to get along with them has been demonstrated. As in the family sympathetic correction is first essayed. Even where work discipline is violated (the most serious offence) no formal accusation is made. (See Chapter II.) If a member, say, shows a strange "state of mind" and disappears for days, he causes anxiety as to his whereabouts and disrupts the work schedule. Yet, when he returns, there is no reproach. He notices restraint in his fellow-members, but he feels their sympathy too. If his case is not chronic, understanding will do more than repression to prevent a recurrence. Hence, expulsions are relatively rare.

Gentle as is this control, it does not imply laxity. On the contrary. There is scarcely any *laissez-faire*. Liberty ceases when it interferes with the equal privileges of others. This democratic interpretation of liberty becomes valuable when it is the result of insight that has come about through self-education. Insight is aided by the peculiar property relations of the Kvutza. Where nothing belongs to the individual, comprehensive co-operation is easy to practise. It then seems natural to work according to one's capacity and to take no more goods from the group than one really needs. A person who cannot conform to this principle has little chance of success in such a community. His resignation or expulsion is a natural result. (See Chapter III on motives for resignation.)

### LEADERSHIP

There is another essential factor of social control : leadership. In a social pattern like the Kvutza, there seems no place for command and obedience. Yet, despite absolute equality, work discipline is severe. The anarchic stage was passed, fads were overcome, and obstacles to routine eliminated. To-day, it would be unthinkable for anyone to claim the right to pound away all night repairing shoes or to insist on doing what work he pleased. Everybody conforms, and accepted routine runs smoothly. But this condition is consequent upon obedience. Is there, then, obedience without its correlate, command ?

But command need not be personal. In the Kvutza, no one can give his own orders. The right to issue orders rests only with the General Assembly. So long as the group remains primary, the Assembly is all-inclusive. The Assembly is not a representative body run by wire-pullers and politicians but is the group

itself. Since every member is part thereof, its rulings are self-imposed. Command, based on the personal decision of all members, has become impersonal. It is precisely this self-imposed, truly impersonal character of the orders which produces unquestioning obedience.

What is the rôle of leadership in this setting? At first, opposition to personal authority would not permit even the use of a chairman for discussions. Social differentiation has not, however, been eliminated. The two major causes for distinction are office and personal qualities.

Although every member has an equal chance to hold office, some are better equipped than others for this function. To assign executive positions to capable persons and keep them in office for an extended period is merely efficient. But the members of a group are set apart and distinguished as superior, if only with respect to duties. Such differentiation is notable in farming's special tasks. The Kvutza largely owed its origin to the fact that most of the immigrants were untrained in farming. Their equipment was idealism, zeal, and goodwill. Expert direction was needed to channel these. Only leaders intimately associated with the pioneer's aspirations could secure the desired results. Thus, after the beginnings, self-education was the most promising road. It was hard, but it led to self-reliance. It developed experts from the ranks. These experts, most of whom received some training prior to immigration, are group leaders to-day in the Kvutza's work. Their leadership is based on superior knowledge, and none can reasonably object. Their orders are not their own but are modes of expressing the general will in terms of the work in hand.

Personal qualities produce leadership as well. The highest ideal is that of the "good worker". Naturally, one with that title to esteem will be respected not only in work but also in social life. He will be elected to offices and committees and given serious attention when he speaks in the Assembly. But efficiency in work is not necessarily identical with the qualities needed for social leadership, just as mental powers do not imply a powerful physique. The Kvutza's scope for leadership includes mental readiness and depth as well as good work.

So long as leadership based on the intellect is aware of its limits, there is no harm done. At times, however, mental agility may seek to usurp power outside the common good. Politics enters, cliques take the place of differences of opinion, oratory is

used to win over the formerly open-minded members. In short, the influence so gained may be used for personal glory and thus tend to disintegrate the Kvutza. No wonder that the genuine Kvutzist instinctively detests ambitious, self-indulgent perverters of opinion.

## CHAPTER V

### THE WAY OF LIFE

After surveying the two great principles of the Kvutza, we may now analyse the specific conditions in which its members live. How are they fed, housed, dressed? How do they spend leisure time, provide medical care, support parents?

Housing is rather poor by normal standards. According to the *Handbook* (p. 8) about 17 per cent. of members in the newer Kvutzot live in tents, 53 per cent. in wooden huts, 22 per cent. in concrete buildings, while 8 per cent. share rooms with other members or live outside the settlement. The average is three to five occupants per room. To the member, however, especially to one who lived through the initial stage of colonization, even this means quite an advance.<sup>59</sup> One has to hear an old-timer describe his joy on finding a house, even one thought uninhabitable by Arabs, to appreciate this. We can imagine it—the roof gone, the crumbling walls, the floor a hard-stamped clay, bare. A “house” like this offered nominal protection, yet it was better than none at all, and so he moved in. Empty 5-gallon gasoline cans, the so-called “pachim”, provided the furniture. Two or three of these, aligned and covered by a board, were a bed; a can covered with a tablecloth was the dining-table; “pachim” with nothing on them were chairs, tables, or any other item of furniture.

The “pach” (plural “pachim”) means tin in Hebrew, but in Palestine it is applied especially to the gasoline can. The Arabs cut and press the cans flat and build huts of them. The tin quickly rusts and becomes ugly, but it is extremely cheap and offers shelter against rain and protection from vermin. In the Jewish settlements, the “pach” is in wide use. Cut open on one side, it serves as a flower-pot; in the kitchen it is a garbage pail; elsewhere, covered with a spread, it becomes a cupboard or end-table.

To the first pioneers, even the tent meant great progress. Properly set up, it may prove better than a wooden shack. It provides better ventilation, is cooler, and allows more privacy. A tent becomes uncomfortable only in the rainy winter, especially at night if a storm tears it wide open so that one must arise in pitch darkness to fasten it.

The dominant housing type to-day is the wooden hut. Its shape varies with the economic condition of the settlement. In

the poorer and older Kvutzot, one finds rows of elongated barracks, arranged indiscriminately. One window to a room, and doors, with two or three steps leading to them, give a symmetrical impression. The material is cheap wood, colour greyish-brown, and the effect displeasing. Inside, there are at least four or five rooms, separated by thin board walls which often do not reach the ceiling. Each room is furnished with simple iron cots, a table, and either a "pach" or a wooden box covered with cloth. The "closet" consists of two or three nails on which the clothes are hung. These items are standard equipment. A slight noise is heard throughout the barrack, and privacy is impossible. This is made worse when married couples and unattached members of both sexes are quartered under the same roof.

In the more recently established Kvutzot, and wherever the available funds permit, this barrack type has been abandoned. Instead, there are bungalows containing three or more rooms, larger ones for couples and smaller ones for single persons. Architecturally, it is more elaborate. A few steps lead to a small landing around which the rooms are located, the two larger rooms to the left and right, the smaller one in the centre. This arrangement, with heavier wood or insulating material, offers good protection against noise and permits reasonable privacy.

The interiors are, on the whole, pleasanter. Clothes are hidden behind a neat curtain. There may be an attractive Oriental spread on the cot and a flower vase or other knick-knack about, all simple but permitting taste to display itself. Windows are screened. In some Kvutzot, where malaria is still a danger, mosquito nets protect the beds. The floor is usually wooden. Only a few Kvutzot can afford tiles, which are cooler and easier to clean. In many Kvutzot, there are small lawns in front of the bungalows and sometimes rows of bushes and flowers. Neatly arranged, these improve appearances. More funds and attention are devoted to public buildings, the dining-hall, usually the most representative structure, the children's house, which competes with the dining-hall in size and solidity, the stables, which, though plain, have, as a rule, modern equipment. These are made of concrete. In nearly all the Kvutzot, the children's house is topped by a watch-tower, useful in troubled times.

## FOOD

The eating arrangements are communal. Four times a day, all members gather in the dining-hall. The dining-hall thus becomes a regular meeting-place. The more prosperous Kvutzot entrust the construction of their dining-hall to one of the noted architects now in Palestine. Some of these buildings are attractive examples of modern construction. Typical is the dining-hall of Ein Harod. It is an imposing concrete structure with a large well-placed terrace famed for its panorama of the Valley of Jezreel. The kitchen is large, clean, and equipped with up-to-date gadgets. It is located in the basement. The food is sent up by dumb-waiters. There are two pipes connecting upstairs, one for ice-water, the other for hot water for serving tea. The dining-room itself, a large hall, is somewhat bare, but appeals because of its utilitarian simplicity. Parallel to the four walls are long tables with benches. The tables are arranged to permit rapid distribution of dishes. These are brought on wheeled tables to every corner of the room. The china and silver are of the ten-cent variety. The economy extends to plates used. Dish-washing is minimized. All courses are usually consumed on one plate, bread being used (between courses) for a more or less thorough cleaning of the plates.

Ein Harod is one of the largest and wealthiest Kvutzot ; others must be satisfied with less elaborate arrangements. Each Kvutza, though, takes pride in having its dining-hall as presentable as possible, for this structure is at the same time the Kvutza's parlour.

Food is generally plentiful. There are four regular meals : breakfast, lunch, afternoon tea, and dinner. Breakfast, served at 6 a.m., consists of porridge, bread, butter, jam or *leben* (a sort of pot-cheese), salad of tomatoes and cucumbers, and tea, milk, or coffee. Lunch is at noon. Fruit soup is served, after the Russian custom, at the end of the meal. Rice or maize porridge, or, on alternate days, meat or fish is served with salad and tea. Afternoon tea is served from 4 to 4.30, with bread, jam, and butter. Dinner at 7 p.m., consists of egg or fish, vegetables, the inevitable porridge, salad, and milk or tea. Except for meat, which is dear, second helpings are always to be had. The preference is for a vegetarian diet, although all the Kvutzot could now afford meat once a day.<sup>60</sup>

In the early days even tea was rare. Older members tell of

how they drank clear hot water and turned off the lights to make them think they were sipping tea. The cuisine is that of countries of origin, principally Polish or Russian, but there is no strict adherence to religious dietary laws. Arab influence is hardly noticeable. Sufferers from stomach ailments, of which each Kvutza has a fair share, are a problem for the kitchen personnel. Special foods must be prepared consisting of choice and more expensive dishes. There is a melancholy saying in the Kvutza, "To eat chicken you must be sick, or the chicken."

Work in and about the dining-hall, kitchen service, waiting on table, cleaning up, dish-washing, are "unproductive" services. One permanent kitchen worker, or dining-room worker, is required for twelve to fifteen members. With the exception of the few who fancy it, most persons, like buck privates, have a certain distaste for kitchen duty. But no one is exempt from it, and this reduces the distaste.

Some Kvutzot are fortunate enough to have members enthusiastic for and talented in cooking. Such groups are envied for their cuisine. Where these talents are lacking, volunteers prepare food, with varying success. For all that, they are fully aware that they are responsible for the nurture of those who earn their food the hard way. A spoiled or unpalatable dish, unconsumed, saddens the unhappy chef.

There is very little drinking in Palestine, though wine is cheap and abundant. Even on Friday evenings, wine is not necessarily drunk. Only for one or two festivals will a bottle or two be put on the table. This temperance derives from the days of the anti-alcohol youth movement. Some of the great consumers of alcohol are found among the Yemenite Jews, whose wretchedness makes them welcome this consolation.

The earlier anti-nicotine feeling has endured less, but the need for economy limits consumption. No Kvutza can afford unrestricted tobacco consumption. Cigarettes and pipe tobacco are rationed, but concessions are made to suit individual requirements.

#### CLOTHES

"Nothing belongs to anyone." This was applied, until recently, even as to clothes. The Kvutza went furthest in this : it required that a candidate, upon becoming a member, deliver his belongings to the communal store. During the usual dis-

tribution, he might obtain some of his own effects, but not necessarily. When clothes, including underwear, needed cleaning, they were sent to the laundry. After cleaning, they were not returned but redistributed. Size, not former possession, was the determinant. Only shoes and toothbrushes, hardly transferable, effectively remained private property.

With economic amelioration in most Kvutzot, the extreme applications of this policy have been modified. Ein Harod began a transition to a more moderate practice. The member retained his assigned outfit. This has now become more general procedure.

The allocated outfit includes two set of clothes, a cruder one for work and a better one for after work and Saturdays. For the men, this means a plain shirt, a more expensive one, work pants, a pair of better material, shorts, undershirts, socks, and shoes. Headdress is either a wide-brimmed peasant's straw hat or vizor-cap. The "bourgeois" felt hat is banned. Girls, when working, wear a simple dress, or shorts and blouse. After work, most prefer the "sarafan" dress of the Russian type. Sometimes they wear the same type of straw hat as men, or a kerchief, but prefer no cover. The decorative hat they reject as a symbol of bourgeois class distinction.

More dressy outfits are kept in reserve for members who have to go to the city, either on private business or on Kvutza business. Such clothes, though fitted to the wearer, if necessary, do not imply a claim thereon. On his return, they go into the store-room, where they are kept to be fitted for the next traveller. Even within this relatively confined arrangement, there are notable differences in personal appearance. Some always manage to look neat and attractive, others unfailingly resemble scarecrows. In the "anarchic" period, the latter prevailed. They were guided by contrast to accepted standards. Many fashions were created by this revolt. The adoption of dressy shorts by Kvutza women ended the period when neglect of appearance was a virtue. Male protests against such sloppiness was the principal reason. Care of one's appearance is no longer wicked. Some women use creams, eau-de-Cologne, and hair tonics. But sophistication has not yet permitted use of lipstick or other make-up. The more elaborate cosmetics have the stigma of depravity.

This also governs the attitude towards that which is regarded as luxury. Luxury, here as elsewhere, is a relative quality. A

separate room for one person was once a luxury, to-day a necessity. Our present luxuries may be the necessities of to-morrow. "Conspicuous consumption", however, can never become a basis for class distinction in the Kvutza. Transformations of luxuries into necessities cannot occur along class lines or follow social strata but are applicable to the group as a unit. Luxury thus denotes comforts and embellishments which the group cannot afford. Whereas, with us (as Veblen convincingly showed in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*) luxury is a means of stratifying society, in the Kvutza its enjoyment and denial alike are a matter of consent and strengthen the unity of the group.

### RECREATION

An important problem, faced sooner or later in rural resettlement projects, is that of recreation. Country life appears attractive to outsiders, especially disenchanted city-dwellers. But the monotony, spiritual narrowness, and lack of stimulation which seem part of rural life often send them back to the city. Many a rural reformer has found that the country needs the mental stimulants of the cities if life is to be made fuller and more pleasant.

To satisfy this need is difficult. It is the right kind of personalities that is necessary rather than the right kind of institutions. The presence of individuals with high artistic and intellectual capacities is most important. The manifestation of such talents among the members will give the community a lively cultural sense. Wherever the community does not exhibit this life, the group ossifies, and members easily break away. Stimulation from without can only retard the trouble. Probably one of the good reasons for the Kvutza's early strong appeal was this wealth of intellectual stimulation. The Kvutza owed this to the prevalence of members with higher education (see Chapter III). Their presence may have handicapped other work, but, from the beginning, it took care of leisure time. The numerous, often unpleasant, problems provided, if not a welcome, at least a vital, basis for discussion. Discussion, if on matters of genuine import, not only made for reasonable action, but, if conducted on a high level, became a source of intellectual satisfaction. Controlled discussion has dramatic possibilities : proposition and repartee, attack and defence, moving appeal, the suspense of opposing argument, and the catharsis of consent.

An evening spent in debate may largely satisfy the need for

change from work and for stimulation and instruction. But discussions are not enough. The "cultural committee" responsible for planning educational and recreational activities, resorts to the lecture, the course, and the study group, on the one hand, and the concert and theatrical performance, on the other. The high intellectual standard in the Kvutza made educational activities no problem : it could draw copiously on its own. Not a few of its members were recognized leaders of Jewish cultural life. The membership became keen for the exchange of knowledge. There arose the highest type of adult education. In addition to its own lectures and courses, the settlement has the benefit of regular visits by Palestinian scholars, labour leaders, writers, and poets as well as by prominent intellectuals from abroad, who do not miss an opportunity to study the Kvutzot. Many of these visitors have been impressed by the unusual seriousness and receptivity of the Kvutza audience.

A library can be found in even the smallest of the settlements. Their resources are often too small to permit systematic organization of literature. But there will always be books on science, economics, classics, works on modern psychology, especially Freud, Marxist and historical literature, and the better fiction. Many languages are represented, but much foreign literature is now available in Hebrew. Cheap fiction and "thrillers" are as taboo as the bourgeois hat.

The Kvutza is not self-sufficient in the arts. Such talent requires leisure, and the Kvutza is not yet so situated as to free gifted members from everyday duties. Artistically inclined members have to possess more than the average share of physical strength and will-power, to do their work in the agricultural settlement and to study their art. Few achieve noteworthy results. The best-known artist among the Kvutzists is a songwriter, Matatyahu, of the Beth-Alpha group. He is assigned congenial work, sheep herding. His songs are loved and sung throughout Palestine. Ein Harod boasts a painter who earned praise from the noted Marc Chagall. As he needed daylight for his painting, he was assigned to the night-watch. They could do no more for him. If we disregard the newness of the settlements, these limitations are probably responsible for the thin artistic showing.

For its arts the settlement depends on outside sources. The German immigration has given musical life a new impetus because of the noted musicians brought in its train. The Palestine Phil-

harmonic, sponsored by Bronislaw Huberman, gave its first performances under Arturo Toscanini.<sup>61</sup> The Kvutzot share in this bounty. Any performer who comes to Palestine visits at least the more prominent Kvutzot. His financial reward is scanty. But the artists sincerely testify that they have never enjoyed such devoted attention.

The relative rarity of concerts by renowned artists makes the occasion festive. The dining-hall, turned into a concert hall, is cleaned thoroughly, the tables pushed to the walls, the benches placed in rows for members and guests. Some time before the concert, the cattle are led from the stables to a safe distance (sorry experience has taught this acoustic necessity for an undisturbed performance!). After the concert, there is usually a reception, with the artist as guest of honour. Wine is served, and singing and dancing go on until dawn to make the occasion memorable.

To attend a theatre or movie entails a minor expedition. The "Habimah", "Ohel", and "Mataleh", the three leading companies, are located in Tel-Aviv.<sup>62</sup> The companies travel regularly. Their tours are planned so that their performances may be within reach of nearby Kvutzot. In the Valley of Jezreel, a grouping of Kvutzot built a theatre between Ein Harod and Tel-Yosef for visiting companies. A dignified auditorium, in the midst of the valley, permits of a large attendance. The cost of visiting a more distant theatre is excessive so that no more than half the membership could attend each performance. As in the case of "unproductive" work, the members have to take turns in attending commercial recreations.

Once a group of members were eager to buy a piano. Its price was about the cost of a theatre visit. There was not enough money for both, so, after a vote, the visit was dropped and the piano acquired.

The movies considered worth-while are of the pre-Hitler German experimental type, the artistic Russian productions, and Hollywood's rarer exhibitions of a higher standard. Many Kvutzot have their own dramatics; the productions are usually on the low level of persiflage and lampoons.

Sport plays hardly any part as an organized activity. Some members belong to the Workers Sports Association, "Hapoel". Because of his background, however, the Kvutzist is not sports-minded: the load of daily work leaves him little time or inclination for physical exercises. Only the younger members are

rather active in this field. Softball and soccer are their favourites.

A more serious diversion is the so-called "trial", a unique affair which combines dramatic techniques with aspects of controlled discussion. In certain respects, it resembles the public confessions of some utopian communities, and it may have originated in the mental exhibitionism of the Youth movement. The idea has proved effective and has recently been copied by the Zionist Youth organizations of New York City. The trial session is arranged either every year or every two years. It is an Ibsenian "judgment day" in which the group mirrors and measures its achievement and failings. The theme is chosen by a committee. It may concern farm work, intellectual efforts, the position of women in the group, its sexual problems, or similar topics. The presiding judge, district attorney and defence counsel, together with witnesses for plaintiff and for the defence, are nominated beforehand. A green table is set up in the dining hall. The functionaries are often in everyday clothes but sometimes wear robes made for the occasion. The proceedings may require more than one session if the clarification (which is its object) takes longer. As a rule, attendance is confined to members of the Kvutza.

The Jewish holidays, emphasized more for nationality than for religion, have undergone changes. Pentecost, feast of first-fruits, brings the Kvutzot of the Valley of Jezreel to Haifa. The Kvutzot carts, loaded with fruits and decorated with flowers, converge on the Haifa road. Once gathered, a parade is held. This is the children's holiday and, of all those revived in biblical form, perhaps the most graceful. A similar communion is that of May the First. The Kvutzot of given areas unite in common parades and, with red and blue-white flags and speeches and songs, consecrate working-class solidarity.

#### HEALTH

One of the most unpleasant consequences of the low living standard is the poor sanitation in many Kvutzot. There is almost no reliable protection against malaria where swamps are not wholly drained. Typhus cannot be prevented where toilets have no sewerage. Many Kvutzot have no more than two to six single toilets under one roof, for a settlement of perhaps more than a hundred. These are either the Mediterranean type (footholds

and a floor opening) or the English flush type but both are without sewerage. Contagion is common. Small-scale epidemics of typhus are not infrequent and rarely fail to take their fatal toll. The Sanitation Fund of the Jewish Agency is helpful, but its aid does not permanently suffice.

Illness embarrasses the victim. His suffering is enhanced by remorse at burdening his fellows. The physician's advice to "take it easy" is a poor joke to the Kvutza sick. Members of almost all Kvutzot belong to the Histadrut and its Workmen's Sick Fund (see Chapter VIII). The Sick Fund, to which the Kvutza pays three dollars per month for every member, is in charge of medical help and appoints physicians entrusted with the medical supervision of several Kvutzot. The physician lives in one of the settlements and makes the circuit of the others. Each Kvutza has a trained nurse to administer first aid. She is either a member trained for this task, or, more often, an employee of the Sick Fund. This arrangement works so long as cases are mild and relatively isolated. But it cannot cope with epidemics brought about by water conditions or contagion. The working members and the nurse cannot devote much time to a single patient. He is left alone and would be better off in a hospital. But he can be admitted only if the ailment is serious enough and if he can be transported. This does not mean that a Kvutza does not do all it can for its sick. It may (as one of the poorer Kvutzot did) send an ailing member for a full year in a Swiss sanitorium. But the Kvutza's finances do not usually permit this consideration, although its co-operative spirit is not limited to the healthy. Even where invalidism implies lifelong disability, the Kvutza is ready to grant its usual privileges. If members quit and look for help elsewhere, they do so not because of misgivings but rather out of an excessive sense of social obligation. Their attitude sums up : "from you to the group, the best you have, from the group to you, the least you can do with."

#### PARENT AID

Radical youth movements meet with disfavour from the more conservative among the older generation. These movements find some part of the existing order obsolete and in need of change. They must irritate those who, either because they are rigid or have vested interests, wish to preserve the *status quo*.

The Jewish Youth movement was influenced by the German.

That had met with hatred and was called a "danger to the nation", in the Bavarian Parliament. The Jewish Youth movement met with conservative opposition and also with the enmity of the opponents of Zionism. The ideological struggle between father and son was thus even more bitter in the Jewish home than in the German.

About 1910 the Jewish youth in eastern Europe modelled their first efforts on the German Youth movement and seriously began to consider the idea of establishing their own state in Palestine. They organized hiking clubs, did away with barriers between the sexes, and proclaimed the return to nature. There was a world of difference between these ideas and the orthodox father's plans for his children.<sup>63</sup> A boy with any promise would be sent to the "heder" or private Jewish grade school, and then to a "Yeshiva", possibly a famous one. When he reached seventeen, marriage was a live option. A "schadchen" (matchmaker) would be entrusted with the selection of a suitable bride. Then his father and the bride's father would draw up a marriage contract. In this an adequate number of years of "kest" (in which the son and bride are housed and fed in her home) would be stipulated. The groom, freed from material cares, could devote himself to study of the Scriptures. The time would come when he would have to make a living. He would either enter his father-in-law's business or acquire a trade or profession. If God were pleased with him and blessed him with good fortune, he would command brides and bridegrooms of even better families for his own children.

Stricter customs prevailed for a daughter. When she was young she could play with boys. Later, she was kept apart. A woman in a strictly orthodox home could not sit at the same table with men. Her education was limited to minimal religious instruction and preparation for household duties. When she reached marriageable age, a husband was found for her. She did not see him until her wedding day. But she was to be his true, loving wife and to bear him children, and she was not to grumble at his having been designated by God to be her lord and master.

In this strict society, boys and girls went into the woods together and remained there all day, and sometimes a good part of the night! They impudently replied at home, "You may as well know, we are in the movement now." This alone was enough to outrage many parents. Some fathers wished to beat

the new ideas out of their sons by corporal punishment and threatened to banish the girls. More than by the "immorality", though, they were upset by the "atheism" of their children's nationalistic ideas. To the fathers Judaism was identical with the Mosaic faith. This was axiomatic : they could not conceive it otherwise. Now they heard their children proclaim that one could be a Jew without necessarily being religious, that nationality was the true consideration and not religion, and that in Palestine they would build a state which would make the Jews a nation among nations. To the fathers these were heresies implanted by Satan. It was their religious duty to fight these heresies with fire and sword. The ensuing struggle brought up its latent and manifest tragedies. Many youth left their parents' home as enemies. Many a father observed mourning rites for the son or daughter who had gone to Palestine : they were as the dead.

The First World War did not help much. Its horrors, at first, illumined the fathers. There were many, though, who held to tradition. Even after the war there were many for whom Zionist affiliation was clandestine. Not a few left for Palestine without parental approval. Even though the strict attitude towards youthful "immorality" had been modified, orthodox Jews still thought emigration to Palestine to be heretical. They could see that the Messiah had not come. They rehearsed the legend of the "hot-heads" who in Pharaoh's time would not wait until God sent the liberator. These "hotheads" had gone to the Holy Land, though God had not sent a pillar of fire to guide them at night nor a pillar of cloud in the day, and so they had perished miserably in the desert, and they never saw their goal. It was easier to get to Palestine now, true. But how could the divine state be established when God had not given the sign that His time was fulfilled? The "hotheads" of this day would meet with similar disaster.

These gloomy prophecies seemed to come true. The rebuilding of Palestine was hard. Each step, paid for with sacrifice, led to disappointments and even to setbacks. The Arab riots flared from time to time ; the crash of 1927 appeared to have ended the financial basis of Palestine Jewry for good. Many of the immigrants scurried back to Europe.

Then, while crisis plunged the world into economic despair in the early thirties, "prosperity" came to Palestine. While parents in Poland and in Rumania suffered from intensified persecutions, and while government-incited boycotts deprived them of

their livelihood, the "hotheads" in Palestine lived in freedom and comfort. They did the work they liked, founded families, were honoured as pioneers, and had every reason to search the future with confidence.

The parents changed their minds. They reluctantly admitted they had been mistaken.

In want, they hinted that they would welcome some help. The "hotheads" stipulated that each member with needy parents should be allowed a fixed sum, to be regularly dispatched, of about two pounds Palestinian a month (\$10) per person. This was not much, but it helped.

Since parents were no longer opposed to the new ideas, why not join their children? This would benefit both sides. The Kvutza would spare two pounds monthly, and so aid the straitened cash position. Light work can always be found in a rural settlement. The parents could make themselves useful, be near their children, and spare them added burdens. So the parents came to that land which was no longer "The Land of the Fathers" but which had become "The Land of the Sons".

There is no statistical confirmation of the exact number of parents who came into the Kvutzot. One source speaks of a "few hundred", another indicates there were 240 in 1934-5. Cyderowitsch, who is more precise, sums up for three leading Kibbutzim.<sup>64</sup>

Kibbutz Hameuhad . . . . .	one couple (parents)	for each	42 members
Kibbutz Arzi . . . . .	"	" "	234 "
Kibbutz Hakvutzot . . . . .	"	" "	810 "

Externally, the parents do not fit in the Kvutza. Their "Polish" dress, the men with their long black robes, long beards, black velvet hats, the women with their wigs, shawls, and long, heavy skirts, contrast strikingly with the proletarian informality of their children. Parents insisted on strictly kosher food and thus created difficulties. They demanded a "minyan", the ritual's minimum number of participants in Saturday services.

If the number warrants, the best solution is a special section for parents. Some Kvutzot have built a house for them, with a separate kitchen and "all improvements" for their comfort. Here they lead their accustomed life without hindrance. If they wish to help in the work, they are welcomed. If not, they may attend only to their own affairs. They must, however, do without help. Even for them, the Kvutza rule holds.

Some of these parents are still uneasy about their children's mode of life. But they agree that their children are treating them well. Those who enter the Kvutza activities have found a spring of youth. They show that lively smile which, at any age, reveals a youthful confidence in the future.

### THE BUDGET

The standard of living, as we have mirrored it, is undoubtedly quite low. Available figures indicate a continuing improvement. The cost of establishing a unit of two persons in the older Kvutzot was £P 700, or about \$3,500. This covered the investment cost as itemized (*Handbook*, p. 28) :

	Palestinian £
Living Quarters . . . . .	150
Cow-Sheds . . . . .	125
Produce and Fodder Stores . . . . .	30
Chicken Houses . . . . .	25
Hens . . . . .	5
Water Installation . . . . .	10
Draft Animals . . . . .	30
Cows and Bull Service . . . . .	55
Agricultural Implements . . . . .	70
Surveys and Plans . . . . .	10
Preparation of Land . . . . .	20
Ploughing and Planting . . . . .	30
Bees and Hives . . . . .	5
Shade Trees . . . . .	5
Working Capital . . . . .	97
Contingencies . . . . .	33

In the newer Kvutzot, the comparable figure rises to £P 1,152 (as in Beth Alfa) or \$5,760. Allowing for high land prices and commodity increases, this still indicates a higher standard of living.

Maintenance allotments show a similar trend. In 1931, the annual *per capita* cost was about \$150 for all Kvutzot. In 1935, it ranged from about \$180 in some Kvutzot to as high as \$265, showing a significant improvement in the more successful settlements. In 1931, the daily maintenance cost per person did not exceed 100 mills (or 50 cents) in any of the Kvutzot ; this was the very minimum for any of them in 1935.

It must be stressed that however low this standard, it is high compared with that for surrounding populations. An article, unfortunately anonymous, makes the comparison of the Kvutza and a Jewish village. Significantly, the food cost in the Kvutza

was 50 per cent. of the maintenance budget. It was 55 per cent. to 60 per cent. in the village of Petach Tikva.<sup>65</sup> A 50 per cent. food budget reveals an extremely low standard. But the condition still compares well with other Jewish types of settlement in Palestine, disregarding, of course, that which prevails in the Arab villages.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE REMODELLED FAMILY

The most profound change produced by comprehensive co-operation is within the family. This is so basic that one can hardly speak of a family in the usual sense. The modification has not brought about anarchy, nor a weakening of emotional bonds between husband and wife or parents and children. On the contrary. These relationships, according to unprejudiced testimony, approach the bourgeois ideal more closely than does the bourgeois family. Love between husband and wife remains free of material implications. The group provides. The individual affections are not swayed by economic considerations. They may come straight from the heart. Similarly, the upbringing of children is impersonal. It is a communal duty. The children are independent of their parents economically. Genuine affection supplies the only bond.

Disagreements between family members are not, of course, eliminated. "Dissociational" processes do not arise only out of private property. Dissociation is the correlate of association, necessary to any society. Nevertheless, there is notable progress in the Kvutza. Absence of private property has much reduced the scope and intensity of family conflicts. That arsenal of aggression, personal economic difficulties, is no more. Marriage is relatively stable. As Ben-Shalom says of Kibbutz Arzi, divorces range from 10 to 15 per cent. of marriages.<sup>66</sup> In America the range is 16 to 17 per cent.

In the Kvutza frictions arising out of temperamental differences and the shape of thought is a chief cause of divorce. These are more basic evidences of individuality than the economic inequalities of our society.

Those who wish economic inequality to endure hold that "uniformity" and the end of individuality would result from co-operative living. Even a biochemically and "hypnopædically" equalized society, such as Aldous Huxley imagined in his utopian satire, *Brave New World*, cannot entirely end individual differences. His "Alpha Plus" Bernhard Marx became an outsider when a few drops of alcohol were added through negligence. How much less can uniformity obtain when, as in the Kvutza, the only variant is the abolition of possessions !

Individual self-determination seems to be increased by family relations as they occur in comprehensive co-operation. Freedom of choice in our society is often abrogated by social position, family interests, wealth, ability to support a spouse. Here they are irrelevant. The selection of a mate is determined only by personal attraction. If this is great enough to lead to a common life, a room is requested from the "econom". With the moving of the beds, the marriage status is achieved. In this atmosphere of universal comradeship, there are no flowers, candy, or engagement ring. Yet there are the usual signs, as in seeking each other out at meals, at meetings, at dances, and for walks. It is said that nothing else leads to this love like the common pursuit of some study, and so when a boy and girl are seen poring over books together, those who know it see the bond as sealed.

Marriage does not alter the social status of the spouses. The wife continues to use her name; the husband acquires no new obligations. They simply are recognized as belonging to each other. The terms "husband" and "wife" are not used either in the Kvutza or in pioneer Palestine generally. "My girl" or "my boy" are preferred.

Sexual activity in the Kvutza is moderate. Heavy work and resulting fatigue are such that members who could be questioned about so intimate a relation stated that intercourse took place not oftener than once a month. Of course, there are Don Juans and "glamour girls", but they are strange and rare and are merely tolerated, though outside the customary values.

Married life does not change the private habits of the wedded. Each makes his own bed and arranges his things as before. Their meals are taken in the dining-hall, they attend meetings as equal members, and whether they go to theatre or cinema is decided by the group. The change is in the more intimate life, in those psychic relations which so much distinguish the married from the unattached. Comprehensive co-operation does not lessen the need for companionship, for, as we have seen, inability to find such companionship is one of the reasons why members have resigned.

#### BIRTH CONTROL

The cost of maintaining children is a group liability.<sup>67</sup> Hence, the couple cannot have children without group consent.

Since planning is comprehensive, procreation cannot be casual. It, too, must be provided for in the scheme of things.

This does not mean that the proverbial Jewish love of family has vanished. The Kvutzists love children and would like to have many. They realize that a surplus of births is important for the preservation of the settlement and for the growth of the Jewish community in Palestine. At present, the Kvutza still grows through influx, but much will depend on the next generation. To increase their numbers through children is an acknowledged duty. Birth control is practised, therefore, when the advent of children would be inadvisable because of severe hardships.

Control is not bureaucratic. As soon as economic conditions permit, births are permitted. When pregnancies reach the permitted number, restrictions are reimposed.

At first, such drastic interference in a most personal sphere may seem strange. But, actually, civilized society tries, either directly or indirectly, to control procreation. Usually the objects sought by these policies are not those of the people but of the "higher interests". "The Kaiser needs soldiers" or "industry needs cheap labour" leads to severe laws against birth control as do punitive taxes on bachelors, on the one hand, and prizes for fecundity on the other. This can only be termed interference. The Kvutza denies itself merely such offspring as it cannot adequately provide for.

Under these conditions, children in the Kvutzot are relatively few. Cyderowitsch gives the population of 65 Kvutzot in 1936 as 6,988 with only 646 children, i.e.,<sup>68</sup> under 10 per cent. In the three Kibbutzim, the supreme organizations of these Kvutzot, there are :

1 child to 8½ members in the Hever Hakvutzot
" " " 9 " " " Kibbutz Hameuhad
" " " 15 " " " Kibbutz Arzi

These figures are confirmed by other statistics but differ somewhat from the report of Fritz Naphtali,<sup>69</sup> who estimated that there were 5,072 members in Hameuhad in 1935, among them 1,000 children, or one to every five members and not one to nine. The most conservative Kibbutz, the Hevrat Hakvutzot, has the highest pro-rata child population ; the most radical, Hashomer Hatzair, the lowest. Ideas play their part in the application of a birth control policy.

If the 1931 figures are considered (as estimated by Cyderowitsch) the population was 2,095 and the children only 90. They rose from 4 per cent. in 1931 to 10 per cent. in 1936. This indicates how speedily the birth rate follows economic gains.

### RESPONSIBILITY FOR OFFSPRING

The Kvutza does not leave procreation entirely to individual choice but compensates for this by assuming full responsibility for their care. Pregnant women receive medical supervision and adequate diet, and are relieved of duties at the proper time. They are brought to the hospital some days before confinement. They rest until they are fully recovered. As soon as mother and child return, the child is placed in a nursery. The children's house, of which the nursery is part, is equipped (in almost all Kvutzot) with the most modern instruments for infant care and accords with modern hygiene. Modest as are the Kvutzist's personal requirements, he thinks nothing extravagant for children. He is thrilled when visitors see the shining comfort, for he takes greater pride in the children's house than in the dining-hall.

In the nursery the baby is cared for by a trained nurse, usually a member of the Kvutza, a professional.<sup>70</sup> Thus the mother need not concern herself with these duties and may return when she feels well enough, to her usual work. If she is able to nurse her child and feels like doing so, she sees the child at appropriate intervals. Later, she visits it only in her free time, usually in the evening or on Saturdays.

This separation of mother and child did not become policy without a struggle. It was, like many other Kvutza features, ultimately accepted as fitting. But problems remained. In a Kvutza of the Emek Jezreel, a young mother, anxious about her baby, would not leave it in the nursery overnight. Some of the more tolerant would grant her wish ; they trusted that time and experience would teach her confidence in the group. But others saw in this an unpardonable offence against Kvutzist principle. They insisted on expulsion. The rift was deep : it threatened to split the group.

A modified procedure is that in Dagania A, where children, up to six, return to their parents in the evening. But here, too, many favour the complete supervision of children, and the question is being mooted.<sup>71</sup>

Contrary to usual belief, social upbringing seems to favour

the affections of parents and children for each other. Out of his own experience Ben-Shalom writes :

When my child was but six months old he already showed his delight more tumultuously when he saw his mother or me through the net of his crib than when he saw his nurses. At his age, he could not, of course, know his relationship to me. He knew me only as one who plays with him a short time daily—a longer time on Sabbath—and lays him in his bed for sleep. It mattered not at all that he sees his nurses all day long. We have seen that the collective education of our children has not weakened the mutual love of parents and children but has, in reality, strengthened it. Nor can this be wondered at. True, because of work, parents are with the children for a limited period of the day. But just because of that, the meeting is more intense, bears a more profound influence upon the child. The quiet, pleasant occasion after work, when parents have thrown off their worries, means more to the child than long hours spent with a nervous mother. For this mother, burdened with duties, lacks the necessary patience for attending and satisfying the child. For the children, too, the meeting with their parents becomes the happiest hour of the day. Obviously, in the Kibbutz, as elsewhere, the parents are an essential factor in the education of their child.<sup>72</sup>

Other members of Kvutzot so testify, as do observations by competent outsiders, such as Sholom Wurm and Sir Arthur Wauchope.<sup>73</sup>

In addition to the foregoing, the location of the children's house within Kvutza boundaries, with its happy combining of segregation and permanent contacts, strengthens the children's ties to their parents. Separation is complete only in that parents and children sleep in different quarters. However, the occasions for contact during the day are more frequent than with city families in which both parents work.

The Kvutza child is not the "property" of his parents. He does not "belong to them" but lives as one of his own group. Here his social capacities are developed by contact with equals and by encouragement and understanding from the supervisors. From the beginning he leads his own life in the children's house. Still, when these children refer to their parents, they do not differ from other children. They brag about the doings of their own "daddy" and seek to outdo others' brags. A child was overheard to say, "My father milks two cows," and was answered, "My father milks three cows." Another countered with "My father milks five cows," whereupon a tiny fellow triumphed : "My father milks the whole Kvutza."

Parents, too, are particularly proud of their own child. They,

like parents everywhere, like to hear him praised and to quote his bright sayings to sundry audiences. But there are differences from external society in that although he knows his ties to his own parents, the Kvutza child is free from the specific "we-feeling" characteristic of the family group outside. He knows that his father and mother are not the centre of the universe, but are members on equal terms with all others. The parents, too, share the group's responsibility for all the children. Besides their more intense affection for their own, they take a deep interest in the welfare and development of other children. Thus, on a higher level, we see re-created relationships like those in certain clan-families, in which all adult males are regarded as fathers and all adult females as mothers. The ties of the family bind the community.

What becomes of this relationship in later life?

Only the future can supply an adequate answer. One result seems probable. A relationship so initiated is likely to be free of the "complexes" and "inhibitions" which give psycho-analysis its subject matter and which are thought to develop out of our normal spatially integrated family. The Kvutza child grows up, supervised by teachers whose relationship to him is professional rather than affective. To the child, the father is not the awe-inspiring master of the house against whose rule he feels, subconsciously, he must protest, in the "Œdipus Complex" form. His father, here, is rather a grown-up playmate, a friendly visitor, who takes him for a walk and brings him back to the children's house. As for the mother, his remoteness in space eliminates the chance of his developing traumas which may lead to protest attitudes towards her.

The Kvutza is recent; its offspring are young. Conclusions can only be tentative. The oldest group, Dagania A, can boast its first grandchild, and in a few of the older Kvutzot, some of the new generation are full-fledged members. But these children were born before their parents came into the settlement. They received impressions, considered decisive by psycho-analysts, outside the settlement. New traits in the children are not definitely signs of those changes in character attributable to Kvutza origin. We shall have scientific validity only when those born in the new setting reach maturity.

### COMPROMISES

The legal status of children is peculiar. The Kvutza practises comprehensive co-operation but in a capitalist environment. The Kvutza might be satisfied with its "authorization" of marriage and decline to think of children of these unions as "illegitimate". But the surrounding society dissents. For it, a valid marriage must be performed by a state official, and out of this alone does legitimacy arise. Undogmatic in this and concerned for possible disadvantages to the child, the Kvutza has yielded. As soon as a child is bound to come, rabbinical marriage is effected and legitimacy of the offspring assured. The ceremony is not thought a matter of importance in the Kvutza. It knows that its own attitude is more genuine. It sees that this is a formal compromise with the laws of "individualist" society. It is free of insincerity, since ceremonial is meaningless without the binding force of personal attraction.

## CHAPTER VII

### EDUCATION

Progressive education knows that training of children should begin with their parents. In the Kvutza this is made easy, for there is ardent interest in teaching problems. It is the most widely discussed topic. Few of the more important modern educational trends or theories are unknown. In some ways the Kvutza is like a parent-teacher organization. The members are clear as to what the teacher seeks to do with their children. Parents regulate their own behaviour accordingly. The social environment, a significant factor in education, is especially co-ordinated with systematic schooling. Out of this understanding it is easy to infuse the children with the Kvutza spirit. Children take their own social system for granted, although it is surrounded by a society based on disparities and contradictions. They interpret outside society in their own terms ; they are not confused by its contradictions. A child who had been taken by his parents to a clinic in Tel-Aviv, for example, pleaded that they might return to the "Kvutza with many doctors".

To these children money is unknown. Whoever is with them on a visit to the city soon discovers this. They reach out for inviting sweets and are baffled by talk about "paying". They never paid for anything in their communal store. It is not easy to bridge the gap between the tradesman who must be paid and the child who does not know of money.

Another aspect of the Kvutza spirit is equal sharing. The children learn to honour this principle from the beginning and often show amusing thoroughness in applying it. We once took a five-year-old Kvutza lad through Jerusalem and, on the way, gave him a box of candy. As eagerly as any other child he opened the box and took a piece. He stopped. He could not be induced to take another. When we came home, he immediately delivered the box to the nurse. She called the other children of the group and passed it around. None took more than a piece. Our boy looked on, awaiting his turn, as we thought. But when the box reached him, he passed it on, saying, "I had my piece when I got the candies." We smiled, but everyone else thought it normal.

The pioneer mood also governs the children. They know

that things have not always been as they are : the beginnings of their particular society go back only a few years. It began with their fathers. On a blackboard in a schoolroom this sentence was written, indicative of their historical perspective : " Twelve years ago people came to Ein Harod, they drained the swamps, planted trees, put up the tents, and slowly, slowly, they built Ein Harod."

### THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD

The more systematic education is equally imprinted by the Kvutza spirit.

Until there are enough children to warrant a school of their own, the settlement will send them outside, preferably to a school of its own Kibbutz. (See Chapter VIII.) If the school (always a boarding school) is large enough, it may not only accommodate children of other Kvutzot but also pupils whose parents wish them brought up in this spirit. Dagania A, Mishmar Haemek, and Beth Alfa have such schools. The fees cover bare cost. A profit would be in violation of the basic principles of the Kibbutz. Teaching methods are generally progressive and experimental. The kindergarten for three- to six-year-olds clings, on the whole, to Montessori methods but also uses psycho-analytic theories and those of individual psychology. Even here genuine consideration is shown for the child's self-determination. All coercion is avoided. Common action depends on the consent of the children. Decisions are reached by vote. The results are sometimes surprising. Three- and four-year-olds disputed the best way home. The teacher suggested the shortest route, but the children dissented. The vote went against her. The road selected took them far from their lunch. This taught them a lesson : their victory left them all hungry, for they came late to lunch.

The teacher's rôle is, as can be seen, not authoritarian. The children express themselves freely, and sometimes their remarks are derogatory. A teacher had little success in explaining something. Finally, losing her patience, too long tested, she exclaimed : " When I was your age, I couldn't have helped understanding that." " Yes," said a seven-year-old smartly, " but you probably had a better teacher than we have."

When the children dislike a teacher their feeling is unmistakable. If the teacher can maintain self-control, she may circum-

vent the crisis and master their antagonism. Unless this occurs, she can do no other than resign. Some teachers speak with horror of Kvutza children. Others, who like spontaneity and freshness in response, have no difficulty.

For all that, the teaching personnel is a recurrent problem. Applicants for the kindergarten staff are relatively easy to find. Many of the girls took up nursing before emigrating to Palestine ; the Kvutzot are not lacking in trained nurses. But qualifications for teaching older children are not so common among the members. Some Kvutzot provide training for members who wish to become teachers. But where the children require several teachers the Kvutza has to use outsiders. Kvutzot schools are under the supervision of the Histadrut.<sup>74</sup> On the average one teacher is assigned to every twenty school-children, and the teachers are paid according to a set scale. The initial salaries are £P 7·5 per month, about \$37·50, half of which is deducted for room and board. In some instances the teacher prefers to give up the salary and become a member.

### CURRICULUM

Automatically, children over six become members of the Society of Children. The name indicates its autonomy. Their society ranks equally with that of adults. Teachers are leaders and advisers, but administrative and juridical powers vest in the Society. All problems are discussed in General Assemblies, but here the teacher usually presides. Decisions are enforced by committees headed by a central committee. The Work Assignment Committee is most important, for it determines the schedule whereby children take turns in cleaning bedrooms, serving at tables, kitchen help, and other work. Transgressions of self-imposed discipline, violations of comradeship, negligent work, and other misdemeanours are not punishable by the teacher but are submitted to the Assembly. The culprit tells his story. Any penalty imposed is by common consent among the children. Dangers arising out of rancour or defensive leniency are less than would be thought. First, the teacher presides, and, second, the children soon realize that the procedure would have no meaning unless followed sincerely.

The Society of Children includes all between six and fourteen. They are subdivided (according to number) into smaller or larger age-groups which form study units as well as working

units. The Kvutza school follows the example of the *Landerziehungsheim* of Gustav Wyneken, which does away with a fixed schedule. The order of subjects taught depends on what engages the children's attention. Once taken up, a topic is treated intensely and diversely. A drawing or a painting, referring to the subject, is the point of departure, as in the Glöckel system.<sup>75</sup> The children make the drawings. Graphic presentation dominates lettering, mensuration, calculation of quantity, and other subjects, such as history or geography, where it is applicable.

This method is fruitful in the Kvutza school. There is immediate contact with the life and work of adults. Diversified farming offers an unfailing supply of illustrative material. The children simply cannot help learning "for life" as well as "for school".

The importance of manual labour is reflected in the curriculum. Acquisition of manual skill is a goal, but the Kvutza goes beyond the use of handicraft as a pedagogic device. The aim is to cultivate the aptitudes of a "good worker". It stresses work discipline, physical endurance in toil, teamwork, and thoroughness. This aim can be reached only if the children feel that what they do is real work. They cultivate their flower and vegetable gardens and care for their small domestic animals. Within obvious limits, they help in adult chores, such as sheep guarding, or harvesting, or in the stables. This is partly fun, but they know the jobs cannot be dodged, even when the work is drudgery.

At ten, the child has learned to do two hours of manual work daily. At fourteen, this rises to four hours. Subjects like botany, zoology, chemistry, and geology, somewhat abstract elsewhere, are here related to the child's work. The subjects become concrete, vivid, and evocative.

There are few children in the Kvutzot above secondary school age. But the older children belong to youth groups. These groups are informal, transitional units affiliated with national movements such as the Worker's Youth Association. These adolescents, still separated from adults, work six hours a day and, when tasks are urgent, full-time. At seventeen, they become responsible members of the Kvutza. They are given one year, in some Kvutzot, to live in the outside world so that they may properly compare it with their own system.

## LANGUAGE AND TEXTBOOKS

Hebrew is the exclusive teaching language. This Hebrew is almost the same as that of the Bible and Talmud. From them it has most of its vocabulary. But its new uses in Palestine required a reshaping, and the creative powers of the pioneers evolved many new words now in current use.<sup>76</sup> This neo-Hebrew causes purists to frown, but it is so vigorous that its long life is assured. The children take part in re-creating this language, in giving it new meanings or making it plastic. Their contributions are hard to appreciate in translation, but certain instances show the initial stages in this language growth.<sup>77</sup> A three-year-old wishes to deflate a balloon shaped like a monkey. He says, "I am going to 'meagre' my monkey"; or a child, speaking of a harmonica player, says, "She harmonics." A five-year-old begs his mother for a story. She is busy and puts him off, promising, "Soon, soon." His patience gives out and he exclaims, "But, Mother, two 'soons' have passed, and you are not telling the story." All three typify modifications in a period of language growth.<sup>78</sup> The first is an intransitive verb used transitively, the second, a noun used as a verb, and the third, an adverb given the work of a noun.

Hebrew textbooks are scarce. Hebrew revival is a matter of decades and cannot have produced adequate school literature, despite intensive translation and publishing. Most of the teachers master a language other than Hebrew, and, for their own guidance, use textbooks in other languages. But they cannot transmit all this in the schoolroom, and this textbook meagreness is a true handicap in student work.

The Bible and Talmud are basic language texts. These sacred books are the monuments of national literature and are so treated rather than as theological documents, just as holidays have a national rather than a religious meaning. Religion *per se* is not in the curriculum.

Arabic is also taught. The Kvutzot wish to be friends of their neighbours and need to communicate with them. But it is hard to find native teachers who can impart Arabic. Instruction is rather thin. The children acquire Arabic mostly through contact with the native population.

### THE FUTURE

The co-ordination of social environment and instruction makes Kvutza education remarkably effective despite its experimental character. There are two disturbing aspects.

First, over-emphasis on manual labour may upset that happy balance between physical necessity and the intellect which has made the Kvutza so superior a form of rural life. The Kvutza owes this balance to the higher education of its members before emigration. But where will the children find intellectual interests to counter the absorbing material needs of their situation if education stresses manual work? Kvutza teachers are aware of the urgent need of restoring the intellect to its rightful place, i.e., bringing it back to earth. But they know that the intellect is its own good which, once lost, can only hurt the essential character of their enterprise. Poverty makes this realization as yet academic, though the mind can be stimulated in the Kvutza by the means we have described. No youngster can be expected to become intellectually creative if he has no opportunity to find out things for himself. The wretchedly poor Kvutza budget does not permit them to acquire even the most necessary study aids. Textbooks are too few to permit of homework.

But the educators also wonder how this upbringing will affect the children's attachment to the Kvutza. So far, indications are favourable. The few instances known to us show that the danger of losing the new generation is almost non-existent. They are loyal. Even a boy who was sent to Switzerland to study engineering did not waver. He returned to give the Kvutza that which he had acquired. The child in the Kvutza is proud of his affiliation. Its members are looked upon as the vanguard of Jewish rehabilitation in Palestine. The children are aware of how their parents are respected. They are so attached to the form of life their parents have shaped that, paradoxically, they sometimes prefer it to their parents. Two children in Ein Harod would not follow their parents out of the group. The children said their first allegiance was to the Kvutza. The parents, still Kvutzists enough to accede, permitted the children to remain.

The personality of the next generation is difficult to predict. At present the children's challenge to autocratic teachers partly arises out of a rudeness and freedom from restraint which are not traits of "good children". But they show dependable self-discipline where discipline matters. They dream less than their

parents : the children are realists. They do not favour speculative thought, supposedly characteristic of the Jewish people. But they soon learn to work hard and accept life. Much will depend, it seems, upon how free they will be to shape life according to their insights.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE ZIONIST AGENCIES

Before setting out our conclusions, it is necessary to examine the Kvutza's relation to other groups and organizations with whose existence it is vitally connected. Evaluation of its future would otherwise be one-sided, excluding conflicts and dilemmas which affected its growth. As part of the Zionist enterprise, the Kvutza depends on agencies of the Zionist organization. The Kvutza is connected with the co-operative movement in Palestine and is affiliated with rural settlements of the same character.

Its most significant relations are with the Zionist agencies. Without Zionism there would not have been a Kvutza, and should Zionism fail, the Kvutza would vanish. The Zionist organization has grown greatly since 1909, when the Palestine Office inaugurated the first group settlement. The organization has become politically recognized as the agent for rebuilding the Jewish Homeland, and its agencies have a semi-governmental character for Palestine Jewry.

The actual representative body of Jewish Palestine is the Jewish Agency. Since 1929 it has included non-Zionists who represent Jewish interests. Through its agencies it takes care of political and administrative matters. The most important agencies are the National Fund (*Keren Hakayemet*) and the Foundation Fund (*Keren Hayesod*), which raise and distribute funds. The Foundation Fund is especially important in rehabilitation work. Its agricultural activities are carried out by the Department of Agricultural Settlement. This department

is entrusted with the general planning of settlement and its organization, the determination of the colonization budget, the choice of settlers and the land given to them for settlement, as well as the financial and technical supervision of their work. The technical office of the department prepares the general building plans of the new settlements as well as the plans for the various types of construction.<sup>79</sup>

The Kvutza is related to this department of the Foundation Fund as the large-scale corporation co-operative farms in the United States were to the Farm Security Administration of the Department of Agriculture. The ideal of autonomy, wholly

realized in the Kvutza, was a mere aspiration in the F.S.A. farms.<sup>80</sup> The F.S.A. began with the administration of individual relief to the rural needy. Later, it resorted to the establishment of co-operative farms. The Palestine Office, however, had established and fostered group settlement as the only means of creating Jewish agriculture. In 1938, the Palestine Department of Agricultural Settlement added "a special section for middle-class colonization and for individual farming".<sup>81</sup>

The rules, stipulations, and practices which govern the relations of the Zionist agencies and the Kvutzot have undergone many changes dictated by changing conditions and experience. The prevailing regulations and practices can be summed up as follows :

(1) The land acquired by the National Fund remains the virtual property of the Jewish nation. It is leased to the settlers for the biblical period of seven times seven years.<sup>82</sup>

(2) No settler is allotted more land than his family can cultivate. The nature and area of farming are determined by the work capacity of the family. The usual allotment is either 18 to 25 dunam (5 to 7 acres) of irrigated land or 90-120 dunam (22 to 30 acres) of unirrigated land per settler-unit (one man and one woman).

(3) Farming is diversified, including corn, fodder, vegetables, and orchards. Semi-industrial undertakings are added where feasible.

(4) No Kvutza can begin with less than sixty families. The first Kvutza began with only ten members, but sixty (in exceptional cases, forty) was found the minimum to exclude monotony and the stagnation of cultural and social activities. This requirement reduces the share of the settler in the communal budget.

(5) The Department of Agricultural Settlement co-operates with the Workers' Association (Histadrut) and representatives of the applicant group with respect to the selection of settlers for the new community. The resources for the settlement are loaned by the Foundation Fund, at 2 per cent. interest and redeemable in forty-nine annual instalments.

(6) The Foundation Fund provides the following services to the settlers : (a) a central water-works for the Kvutza ; (b) a town-planning expert whose layout is based on modern principles of settlement planning ; (c) aid in swamp draining, in shrub and stone removal, and in afforestation of part of the land ; (d) it directs its Agricultural Experimental Station at Rehobot to draw

up a suitable farming scheme for the settlement, including cost estimates.<sup>83</sup>

Financial relations between the Kvutzot and the Foundation Fund were consolidated in 1935,<sup>84</sup> when "it was possible to draw up the final contracts between the Keren Hayesod and the settlers regarding the repayment of their indebtedness to the Fund". Before that, financial relations were more or less tentative, determined by mutual trust. The Fund gave what it could to the settlers, and, for the time being, they could give their devotion to its work but make no repayments. After 1929, though, the Fund's income shrank dangerously, until 1935, when it contracted a substantial loan on advantageous terms from Lloyds Bank (London). This loan permitted the Fund to consolidate the settlements debt.

On the signing of the contracts the Keren Hayesod wrote off part of the debts due according to its books, having regard to the normal value of the capital invested in the holdings and taking the year 1925 as the base of such valuation, since in that year the agricultural life of Palestine entered upon a more or less steady course. Besides, in determining the amounts of indebtedness, the Keren Hayesod took into account the considerable losses which the settlers sustained in the initial stages of their settlement, whether through not being granted their settlement budgets in time and in cash, which forced them to contract heavy debts, or, as a result of the money difficulties inherent in such a pioneering task as they had undertaken to accomplish ; for, in many respects, their settlement was an experiment, and it was not considered fair to impose the total cost of the experiment on these pioneers.<sup>85</sup>

Payments were to begin in September, 1936. Kvutzot established before 1928 and those founded afterwards, paid different amounts. Redemption was to take fifty years, generally, terminating in March, 1985. The more prosperous settlements were to pay off the principal in from twenty to forty years. These inequalities, based on estimates of varying solvency, provoked resentment among the Kvutzot. A controversy flared,<sup>86</sup> but most Kvutzot found the conditions acceptable, and the others followed suit. A year before the stipulated time, Ein Harod made its first repayment.

#### THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF JEWISH LABOUR (THE HISTADRUT)

The Jewish Agency serves national aspirations. Peculiar to Palestine is the General Federation of Jewish Labour, with which

the Kvutzot are affiliated (Hahistadrut Haklait shel Haovdim Haivrim be Eretz Israel, called Histadrut). It was a result of the 1920 fusion of two labour parties, Workers of Zion (Poale Zion) and the Young Workmen (Hapoel Hatzair). It combines socialist tendencies in the former with nationalist tendencies in the latter. It has more than 120,000 members and is politically, socially, and culturally most influential among Palestine Jews. It has rightly been called "one of the most unusual labour organizations in the world".<sup>87</sup> It combines trade unionism with its other activities which are founded on direct contacts with its members and not on their trade-union affiliations. "The complete autonomy of the individual trade-union is sacrificed in order to ensure the greater efficiency of the general organization. Elections to the conferences of the Histadrut resemble elections to a parliament."<sup>88</sup> Although Kvutzot members belong to their Jewish Agricultural Workers Union, they choose representatives from a list of nominees submitted by various political factions within the Histadrut rather than from a list prepared by their own union. The candidates "reflect ideological differences rather than vocational divisions".<sup>89</sup>

The Histadrut emphasizes co-operation. In this it reflects the general Jewish colonization of Palestine, in which, "unlike many other countries, the co-operatives, because they were first in the field, have not and probably will not have the same struggle with entrenched competitive industry and finance".<sup>90</sup>

As in the case of individual unions, the co-operative societies of the Histadrut are not separated from the main body; rather, they are departments of the Federation. The Kvutzot are associated with the NIR (Co-operative Society, Ltd.) the central society for agricultural settlements. The Kvutzot are also affiliated with the other Histadrut co-operatives, such as the Tenuva for marketing agricultural products, the Hamashbir, or consumers co-operative, and the Audit Unions. The importance of these co-operatives is rivalled by the Histadrut's social and cultural agencies. The Sick Fund, Kupat Holim, and Educational Office, Merkaz Hahinuch, are dominant among social and cultural agencies. Every Kvutza member belongs to the Sick Fund. At the end of 1937, it maintained 152 dispensaries (many in the Kvutzot) as well as two district hospitals, with 187 beds, and two convalescent homes. The benefits are varied. They include obstetrical care, combating infectious diseases, and preventive health services (see Chapter V).

The Kvutza has sought to realize the advantages of both city and country life. A large part of this achievement is due to the Educational Office of the Histadrut (see Chapter VI). It co-ordinates all educational activities including those of the Kvutzot. It controlled (at the end of 1937) 62 elementary schools, with 6,222 pupils and 251 teachers; 78 kindergartens with 2,154 children; 5 vocational schools with special facilities for agricultural training.

The adult education programme of the Office provides the Kvutzot with lecturers, drawn from among the finest intellects, either residing in Palestine or visiting the country. The Office organizes concert tours among the Kvutzot with both local and foreign virtuosi. It provides them with dramatic coaches. The Workers' Theatre "Ohel" derives its inspiration from close contact with the Kvutzot. (See Chapter V, Recreation.) Cultural life would stagnate in the Kvutzot without these precious external aids.

Life in the Kvutza would not be what it is without the close association with the Histadrut. But the Kvutzot give as well as take. The Histadrut would not be what it is without the active rôle of the Kvutzot. This influence exceeds its numerical importance. The *Handbook* points out that mutual benefits result from co-operation between Kvutza and Histadrut. Several leaders of Histadrut are Kvutza members, while the socialistic Histadrut takes special pride in the success of the communal experiment.<sup>91</sup>

#### KIBBUTZIM—THE ROOF-ORGANIZATIONS

The Kvutza is closely related to the principal administrative and occupational organizations of Palestine. Clearly, it has no utopian or sectarian character. However their ways may differ from those of their neighbours, the Kvutzot follow general trends even in their own groupings. These three main federations are, in order of numerical strength :

- (1) The United Group (Kibbutz Hameuhad);
- (2) The All-Palestine Group (Kibbutz Arzi);
- (3) The Society of Communal Groups (Hever Hakvutzot).

Three tenets have been decisive in the Jewish pioneer movements : socialism, the Youth movement, and the doctrine of A. D. Gordon. The three groups severally represent these viewpoints, which are not mutually exclusive. The Kvutza spirit

TABLE I  
THE UNITED GROUP (KIBBUTZ HAMELUHAD)

Name of Kvutza.	Year of establishment.	Membership.
1. Ein Harod . . . . .	1921	857
2. Yagur . . . . .	1923	1,167
3. Givat Brenner . . . . .	1928	866
4. Tel Yosef . . . . .	1921	637
5. Givat Hashelosha . . . . .	1925	548
6. Naane . . . . .	—	527
7. Gesher . . . . .	?	369 (in 1936)
8. Ramat Hakovesh . . . . .	1932	449
9. Afikim . . . . .	1931	480
10. Kefar Giladi . . . . .	?	273 (in 1936)
11. Ayelet Hashahar . . . . .	1918	448
12. Beit Hashita . . . . .	1935	358
13. Givat Hayim . . . . .	1932	486
14. Gvat . . . . .	1926	304
15. Shefayim . . . . .	1935	332
16. Sde Nahum . . . . .	1937	252
17. Maoz . . . . .	1937	245
18. Batelem . . . . .	?	39 (in 1936)
19. Kfar Szold . . . . .	?	?
Total Membership . . . . .		8,677

was a synthesis of all three approaches. It is predominance rather than exclusion of viewpoint that characterizes each federation. The United Group emphasizes socialism, which is closest to the Histadrut view. Hence, in this group, the candidate's working aptitude is the most prized quality. Based on the masses, this federation sets no limit on the size of any settlement. The largest Kvutzot belong to this federation. (See Table I and note Yagur, with 1,167 members.)

The All-Palestine Group reflects the Youth movement. Its members belong to the Young Watchmen (Hashomer Hatzair), the eastern Jewish replica of the German Youth movement. From that source they took over antagonism to bourgeois life and to urban decadence, and they prized qualities of sincerity, frugality, simplicity, self-control, loyalty, responsibility, and purity, both of body and soul. They took over the German costume ; dirndl and braids for girls ; short pants, open shirt, and sandals for boys. They imitated German youth in hikes, sang "Landsknecht-Lieder", camped in the woods, recited poetry

around open fires, and dreamed of life freed from conventions. At annual youth gatherings they proclaimed their "Unbedingtheit", or rejection of compromise.<sup>92</sup>

The Jewish parent, though, in his orthodoxy, was the more revolted. (See Chapter V, Parent Aid.) Further, the Jewish Youth movement was more pointed and concrete than its German original. Their "Unbedingtheit" was merely an escape from the need to alter surrounding conditions, whereas Jewish youth were impelled, by their special difficulties, to strive to realize these ideals. While Jewish youth embodied its ideals in the Kvutza, their German protagonists, because of their remoteness from genuine political decisions, headed straight into the Nazi morass.<sup>93</sup>

The Youth movement's vague maxims had been made flesh in Palestine. But its middle-class mentality did not disappear. It is still discernible in their Kvutzot. There, intellectual capacity ranks with physical in appraising a candidate. Higher standards of selection help to limit the size of settlements. This is thought to assure a high cultural standard. Hence, total membership, as

TABLE II  
THE ALL PALESTINE GROUP (KIBBUTZ ARZI)

Name of Kvutza.	Year of establishment.	Membership.
1. Mishmar Haemek . . .	1926	278
2. Ein Hahoresh . . .	1931	256
3. Ramat Yohanan . . .	1931	239
4. Maabarot . . . .	1933	242
5. Sarid . . . .	1925	232
6. Merhavya . . . .	1911	222
7. Gan Shmuel . . . .	1896-1913	228
8. Ein Shemer . . . .	1913	228
9. Mizra . . . .	1924	225
10. Nir David . . . .	1936	186
11. Kfar Gon . . . .	1927	236
12. Shaar Haamkim . . .	1935	239
13. Ein Hakoreh. . . .	?	104 (in 1936)
14. Beth Alfa. . . .	1922	291
15. Banir . . . .	?	54 (in 1936)
16. Bamesila . . . .	?	24 (in 1936)
Total Membership . . . . .		3,284

well as the average membership of the sixteen Kvutzot in this group, is less than in the United Group. (See Table II).

The third federation, the Society of Communal Groups (Hever Hakvutzot) insists still more on a relatively small-sized settlement. Dagania A, in this federation, returned part of its lands rather than expand, and thus was formed Dagania B. The ideas of this federation are those of A. D. Gordon, whose story is rather typical of the early pioneer period. He was an accountant in Russia. At forty-eight he went to Palestine as a simple labourer. He worked in several Jewish villages and then joined Dagania A, of which he was a member until his death. It was he who brought agriculture into such high esteem in Palestine. He was influenced by the French Physiocrats and saw in the return of the Jews to the soil their return to true "productivity". But he thought of it not merely as an economist but somewhat akin to the mystic sect of the Hassidim in Jewry, for he experienced a supernatural rebirth in his physical reunion with the Holy Land. His tombstone, in the small cemetery of Dagania A, does not give his age but notes that he died "in the eighteenth year of his ascent to Palestine".

His example and his teachings were most influential in the early pioneer days. Wherever land is tilled in Jewish Palestine, his spirit yet prevails. Most of the Kvutzot in this federation are small, though some of the oldest settlements belong to it. (See Table III.) Recently, some of the groups have increased their membership.

TABLE III  
THE SOCIETY OF COMMUNAL GROUPS (HEVER HAKVUTZOT)

Name of Kvutza.	Year of establishment.	Membership.
1. Kinnereth . . . . .	1908	373
2. Geva . . . . .	1921	264
3. Dagania A . . . . .	1909	273
4. Dagania B . . . . .	1920	341
5. Kiriat Anavim . . . . .	1922	241
6. Ginegar . . . . .	1922	231
7. Massada . . . . .	1937	228
8. Gan Shelomo . . . . .	1927	200
9. Mishmar Hasharon . . . . .	1933	194
10. Kefar Hahoresh . . . . .	1930	144
11. Hasharon . . . . .	1926	196
12. Hulda . . . . .	1909	225
13. Ayanot . . . . .	1926	165
14. Kfar Hamaccabi . . . . .	1936	109
Total Membership . . . . .		3,184

There are two minor groupings which have very few members, and several Kvutzot are unaffiliated. (See Table IV.)

More than ideology unites the Kvutzot in one federation. Seasonal planning is subject to certain understanding, and there is frequent interchange of experience and of ideas. Mutual aid is important and is available in emergencies. Experts are loaned from one member group to another. But transfer of a member from one Kvutza to another within the same federation is subject to the stipulations on any candidacy. The internal organization of each Kvutza remains autonomous.

TABLE IV  
THE ORTHODOX WORKER (HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI)

Name of Kvutza.	Year of establishment.	Membership.
1. Tirat Zvi . . . . .	1937	152
2. Rodges . . . . .	?	?

THE GENERAL ZIONIST YOUTH (HANOAR HAZIONI HAKLALI)

1. Usha . . . . .	1937	120
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UNAFFILIATED

1. Heftziba . . . . .	1922	202
2. Hazorea . . . . .	1936	164
3. Shimron . . . . .	?	25
Total Membership (Unaffiliated) . . . . .		391

The figures in the preceding tables refer to fifty-five Kvutzot listed in the *Handbook* and to their federation affiliations. But the figures of membership, as well as the dates of establishment, are taken from data of A. Ulitzur, who also supplies more recent figures of membership (those of 1939) without, however, indicating the affiliations of the Kvutzot.

## CHAPTER IX

### CONFLICTS AND DILEMMAS

We have described the life of the Kvutza and ascertained the forces which have sustained it. Its merits and short-comings must now be appraised. This is not possible unless three important "disjunctive" factors are noted:

First, the Resettlement Project, which comprises the Kvutza, is financed by contributors some of whom do not favour social experiment.

Second, the Kvutza is divided by its attempt to reconcile a radical departure in social organization with the desire to be "unpolitical".

Third, the conflict between social aims and national exigencies (partly reflected in these conflicts) affects the Kvutza most sharply, in that the Jewish Homeland is situated in an Arab country.

The first difficulty is inherent. The Zionist organization is not interested primarily in social experiment, nor even in rural resettlement, as such. It seeks the speedy establishment of a Jewish Home in Palestine. Should industry promise more than farming, the Zionist would prefer it. Because farming has proved the mainstay, rural resettlement receives all possible help. But this does not imply preference for any particular type of settlement. Arthur Ruppин, certainly an authority, states that "in reality the success or failure of our colonization depends much less on the finding of a suitable system of society for our settlements than on the finding of a system of agriculture which will appeal to the mentality of the Jewish immigrant, which will be desirable from a national point of view, and, lastly, *which will pay its way*".<sup>94</sup>

We have underscored this last phrase because, though the fund-raising Zionist agencies are clearly philanthropic, their contributors expect that they be run on business principles. The Americans, particularly, wish the funds properly accounted for and subject to check.<sup>95</sup> Consequently, the agencies are conducted along proper fiscal lines. They are governed, however, by the desire not for profits but for attaining the maximum of results for their expenditures. Accordingly, the "suitable system of society for our settlements . . . which will pay its way" is the true aim and does not necessarily connote social values.

The Zionist organization accepts the Kvutza as a departure made necessary by conditions. But it is chary of enthusiasm for possible socialistic implications and rather uneasy towards social reform.

When pioneer work was new, it was so dangerous that no one thought of discussing business. A formal contract was drawn up between the Palestine Office and the settlers, but repayment was not really expected. If anything, economic aspects of Zionism were disregarded. "Zionism and the Kvutza", says Ruppin, "attempt to overcome the every-day economic rules governing the material well-being of the individual by means of nobler passions, by men's love of liberty, of equality, of existence as a nation, and of a fairer order of society."<sup>96</sup>

However, the debts of the Jewish Agency rose to £P 570,000 in 1934. Eliezer Kaplan records that the repayment of these debts, if possible at all, was feasible "only through the suspension of all constructive and creative work in Palestine".<sup>97</sup> Deliverance came with the half-million (English) sterling loan of Lloyds Bank. Up to that time, the agency paid £P 40,000 in annual interest charges. Its total debt repayments were £P 112,000.

That burden was abated. Total annual charges were now £P 46,000. But Lloyds had insisted on proper security. The only security the Jewish Agency could offer were the agricultural settlements. Because of an unexpected increase in immigration, they were thriving beyond the fondest hopes. The Jewish Agency assumed that the Kvutzot would co-operate and offered their resources as part of the pledged security. We have seen in the chapter on group interrelations that these contracts were controversial. The Kvutzists were not so much exercised at being used as pawns as they were against the ideological implications within the contracts. The Jewish Agency, probably under orthodox pressure, stipulated in these contracts that the Sabbath would be strictly observed in the Kvutzot. The members did not object to a day of rest, but some of them did object strenuously to stipulating such a provision in the contracts. They resented what they regarded as an attempt at outside control. They sensed a veto on their ways, and against that possibility they were at first resolute. However, being loyal to the Zionist cause, and realizing that the Sabbath is a sacred day to the Jewish people, they consented to the stipulation.

They did so, either meekly or in protest. Those who cherished ideals, and had sought to prove that "the nobler passions" would

overcome "the everyday economic rules", had to realize that others whom they had trusted to share in the ideals, favoured the "economic" view. The Kvutzists knew that the Agency was dependent on outside finance. So they complied, but not without becoming painfully aware of the problems of a propertyless communal enterprise in a money-dominated individualist society.

### IDEOLOGICAL DISCORDS

More acute were ideological discords within the Kvutza. These centred on the place of Marxian concepts in shaping the settlement.

The Kvutza is a Zionist settlement. It must hold to that ideology. True, co-operation, modified by agricultural needs, forms the material basis. But most of the members had been in the Youth movement prior to joining the Kvutzot. Zionism, within Palestine, is realizing its goal of a Jewish Home through day-to-day tasks. Its exalted appeal is not so immediate. What prevails is the need for self-preservation and exhausting duties. The soldier in the trenches, however high his patriotic zeal, must think first of his life, and this is so insistent that the shining ideals recede. Thus, Zionism became matter-of-fact in the Kvutza, taken for granted by all.

Comprehensive co-operation causes most of the conflicts. To that the Kvutza owes its proletarian form of social organization. Members are equalized by propertylessness and manual labour obligations. Anti-commercial and classless, the Kvutza, though alien to money and private ownership of the means of production, nevertheless, holds to being "unpolitical".

This is a carry-over from the Youth movement. As Ernst Erich Noth has pointed out, that movement wished to "change the world through inner action only", and its main tendency was "sociohygienic".<sup>98</sup> The "non-political" group in the Kvutza had similar approaches. They agree that instead of being individualist and æsthetic, like the Youth movement, the Kvutza was both practical and co-operative. But they vehemently deny the political implication. To them the Kvutza is reformist, but certainly not revolutionary.

But there are some inclined to interpret all problems in political terms. This produces deep rifts, at times leading to resignations of whole member groups. The conflict, which touches one of the basic points of the Kvutza is reduced to this :

can the Kvutzist be in a society which is anti-capitalist, proletarian, anti-commercial, classless, and still take no political position? On the whole, the Kvutza membership is positive with respect to Marxism. Hence, disagreements centre mostly on the proper interpretation of Marxian doctrine. The reformists, who are in the overwhelming majority, above all seek an unhampered destiny for the Kvutza. They think that realization of the Marxian programme is possible only through peaceful evolutionary means or through "planting the seeds of socialism in the capitalistic organization", to quote Emile Vandervelde.<sup>99</sup> The Kvutzot are such seeds and in bringing them to fruition the reformists carry out their Marxian obligation.

Their opponents "the radicals" deny this reformist bacteriology. They cite Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy to show with what ease the capitalist organization can get rid of these "germs" of socialism, when it needs to. They hold that revolution alone will serve. This leads to questioning the very existence of the Kvutza. From the "radical" point of view, it is the opposite of what it assumes itself to be. It obstructs rather than furthers the development of a "better form of society". By focusing on "inner action", it diverts its energies from the struggle for a thorough change of the existing system, and, despite the social reform it has achieved, its ultimate effect is basically reactionary.

Like all extremist theory, this "radicalism" disintegrates the social structure. Radicalism is a disturbing factor. But its impact and form depend on other elements. If the reformists are staunch, the radicals must quit. (See Chapter III.) They may assert that their resignation is not a betrayal of the Kvutza ideals but a step towards its better realization. About a decade ago, a large group left a Kvutza to go directly to Biro-Bidjan.

But not all Kvutzot reformists are strong enough to compel their "radicals" to resign. This is most true of those in the formative stage. The problem may lead to a break-up such as is said to have occurred about twenty years ago among the early Kvutzot of the district of Ness-Zionah.

It is neither those who quit, nor those who force a break-up, who are the lasting irritants in Kvutza life. It is rather those "radicals" who never follow their convictions to their conclusion. They are too devoted to their communal home to sever ties lightly. They may dream of "world revolution", and they may feel they miss it by staying in the Kvutza. They may constantly say that they "will go to Biro-Bidjan". But they remain.

Their verbal radicalism grows as they increasingly conceal from themselves their secret compromise. These inner conflicts, this want of confidence, lead to provocations in speech and action.

### THE ARAB DILEMMA

“Marxism” is not the only type of radicalism found in the Kvutza. “Radicalism of the Right” prides itself on being in accord with the whole of the “national” ideals of Zionism. For them the Kvutza is not so much an experiment in social organization as a means of building the national home. The Kvutza pioneer is but the Maccabæan of our time, and the land they till is the “Land of the Fathers” rather than that of the sons.

The conflict of Radicals of Right and Left produces occasional clashes. This discord is sharpened whenever the chronic dilemma of Zionist settlement in Palestine becomes acute. The Kvutza is part of an attempt to build a Jewish Home in a country long inhabited by a relatively large native population, the Arabs, and this attempt is made under the British ægis. The dilemma has been often described. Britain needed Arab assistance in the First World War and promised the Arabs concessions towards national independence. The scope of these engagements, in respect of Palestine, cannot be known to us from published sources. The omission to print relevant correspondence is in itself illuminating.<sup>100</sup>

Whether the Balfour Declaration was made to deceive is not to the point. The historic situation made the Arabs receptive to chauvinist, anti-Jewish incitement. The Zionist Organization can scarcely be held liable for this situation. In so far as Zionism strove for a Jewish Home in Palestine, it was but one factor, and one of the least militant. It had no organized force at its disposal. Barring a small chauvinist minority, its intentions were peaceful. If Britain, recognizing a certain political practicality in Zionism, then decided to use it for such divisive purposes, the blame for the abuses which followed must be laid squarely on Britain’s doorstep.

An unbiased judge can find little fault with the Zionist Organization, once this situation had been brought about. It complied with the clause of the Land Transfer Ordinance of 1920. This provided that “in the case of agricultural lands which are leased the director of lands shall be satisfied that any

tenant in occupation will retain sufficient land in the district or elsewhere for the maintenance of himself and his family". When, nevertheless, "thousands of Arab cultivators became landless and without any occupation", as Mogannam states (the quotations above are from his article), the fault lay not with the Zionist Organization but with the Administration which "failed to insist on the strict application of this condition".<sup>101</sup> So far as the Zionist Organization is concerned, it has not only strictly complied with all stipulations but, in its desire to be fair, has gone beyond them. But the paradox remains that the Arab who is a beneficiary of Jewish immigration thinks himself unfairly treated. These feelings break out periodically and result in violence, though the injustice which gives rise to them is apparently a myth.

This seeming paradox can be resolved. An important distinction is hidden within the collective term "Arab". The Arab landowner profits from the rise in the price of land brought about by Jewish immigration : this is the rich Arab, the effendi. But the fellah, the wretched tenant and share-cropper, is not so fortunate. Very few are the effendis, but they own most of the land. The others, the fellahs, work on land which, for the most part, they do not own. As Preuss states, 250 families own over 4 million dunam while 60 per cent. of the fellahs have to deliver a fifth to a third of their gross crop to the owners. They are deep in permanent, usurious debt to the effendis ; they are virtual serfs.

In considering the economic condition of the Moslem community it may be said that the aristocracy is fairly wealthy even though their properties are sometimes heavily encumbered. The middle class of professional or business men also enjoy a certain degree of prosperity. Some engage in small industries but a large part of their income is derived from trading with the fellahs whose modest requirements they supply on credit and against the security of their crops.

The fellahs on the other hand are generally poor. An air of poverty and depression pervades most Arab villages. The fellah bears a heavy load of debts which robs him of most of his earnings and deprives him of the capital required for the amelioration of his land or the improvement of his crops. Any additional effort made merely increases the usurer's share in the produce but does not benefit the cultivator himself to any great extent. (See *Report*, p. 10.)

Even though these fellahs receive financial compensation when removed from the land, how long can such compensation last ? And what are those to do with their families who did not

secure a plot of land in time, once the money gave out? They can only go to the harbour towns, seeking work for which they have no training, and which is the worst paid in Palestine. Even if they do get new land, how can they be happy having to start from scratch?

Hence the dilemma. The Zionist Organization pours funds into improving the land it has bought. The more it is improved the deeper the resentment of the former Arab occupant. Agitators call upon him to assail the Jewish "invader". This finds a ready response. Resentment and interest combine to make fanatical fighters.

#### CONTRADICTIONS IMPOSED BY CIRCUMSTANCES

A basic principle of the Kvutza is that of social justice. Among other things, this barred exploitation or any advantage gained at another's expense. At first a large part of the land assigned to the Kvutzot was uninhabited. But as colonization spread, most land had to be bought from the native population. Thus its very land was acquired by the Kvutza through the dislocation of others and provided an element of contradiction to the principle of its organization.

Some members are still embarrassed by this. Others adopt the attitude of a "master race", such as the British have long held towards natives in their colonies. To them, a native face is but a "sport" of nature. Fairness and courtesy need not be accorded to such a being.

But this view is rare in the Kvutza. Few can rationalize so arrogantly. They know that therein lies no solution. Of all Jews in Palestine, this touches them most. They are socially conscious, and as rural workers they come into immediate contact with the Arabs. They are the first to realize, sometimes unpleasantly, how far removed the fellah's sentiments are from theirs. They feel helpless in face of this mental gulf. They sometimes despair of building their new home on the basis of social justice.

#### THEORY AND PRACTICE

The Radicals of the Left, who insist that co-operatives must be political, demand a common front with the Arabs. This demand is in acute conflict not only with Nationalists and with

some Zionist politicians but even with those who stand on Marxist ground, the Histadrut.

The reason is similar to that underlying the ideological discomfort of many socially alert members of the Kvutza. The Histadrut accepts Marxian theory. It is effective in advancing the claims of organized labour : minimum wages, limited working hours, improved sanitary conditions, closed shops. In Marxian theory, a class-conscious Jewish worker should be ready to fight beside his Arab fellow-worker against capitalists of either race. But in Palestine the theory meets with special difficulties.

After a relatively prolonged period of uneasiness and even antagonism, a state of better mutual understanding appears to be emerging between the Jewish and Arab worker. To-day, the majority of the Histadrut insist that Jewish employers employ Jewish workers. They do it chiefly because the Jewish worker can hardly expect to find employment in the primitive undeveloped industries or agriculture of the Arabs. Mass employment of Arabs in Jewish enterprises would not only lower the wage scale of the Jewish worker, with his higher European standard of living, but would also create conflicts between the two groups, the Jews being the employers and the Arabs the employees.<sup>102</sup>

The Labour movement in Palestine avowedly desires to avoid such conflicts. The professed Zionist aspiration is to create in Palestine a community wherein Jewish labour can be fully employed both in agriculture and in industry. The Zionists feel confident that this objective can be achieved without prejudicing the economic position and interests of the Arab population. Comparisons between Palestine and neighbouring countries indicate that the Arabs have on the whole economically benefited from the Zionist activities. Arab regions adjacent to the Jewish colonies appear definitely more prosperous than those farther removed.

It is generally the Histadrut's policy to assist the Arab fellah wherever possible, as, for example, in the improvement of his crops, the development of co-operative organizations, and the provision of more adequate medical care. For such purposes, the Histadrut established The International League of Palestine Labour (Brit Poale Erez Israel), which includes Arab members. This League is chiefly concerned with the field of public utilities which serve the entire population of Palestine. The League has been mainly active in the industrial city of Haifa. The Sick

Fund of the Histadrut provides medical services for the Arab members of the League, and the Histadrut frequently helps them in their struggle for higher wages.

During the Second World War, Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine were peaceful. This condition may be short-lived, but it is pleasant. Its permanence depends on the outcome of the war and the final settlement of political questions in the Near East.

## CHAPTER X

### ASSOCIATIVE AND DISSOCIATIVE ASPECTS

Comprehensive co-operation affects most of the person, whereas segmental co-operation attains limited economic aims. Comprehensive co-operation creates a new way of life. We have described those phases of Kvutza life which best exemplify the extreme practice of comprehensive co-operation. We may now evaluate. The advantages and disadvantages inherent in the Kvutza is our first consideration, then the possibility of applying that social organization to other areas and to post-war resettlement. These advantages and disadvantages are judged in terms of the sociological system which underlies the investigation. "Association" and "dissociation" are seen by Becker, in his adaptation of von Wiese's *Systematic Sociology*, as the two elementary forms of all social relations. In one, people are attracted to each other ; in the other, they are driven apart.<sup>103</sup> Wiese-Becker do not discuss value here ; association may be found among gangsters and dissociation among scholars. But, practically, cohesion among settlers aids survival, and lack of it lessens their chances. If, in a pioneer group, survival of the group is decisive for the settlement's future, then association is a boon and dissociation an evil. The history of the Kvutza shows that wherever the nucleus was not highly coherent, the settlement did not last long. Thus, evaluation of its social organization in terms of "associative" and "dissociative" aspects, reveals more than a merely mechanical analysis of its various phases.

The associative phases are strengthened by the Kvutza's particular property relations. Since there is no property, save such as use implies, all conflicts are eliminated arising from relations based on property. The most important concomitant of this "propertylessness" is the supplanting of competition and of self-centred interest by co-operation and solidarity. The Kvutza has had to face the struggle for existence most acutely. But there is a world of difference, since it faced the struggle as a group. Problems which the individual cannot solve, when they lose their individual character, are easily solved by united endeavour. Each difficulty, overcome in common, strengthens the group.

Life in the Kvutza is free of personal worry about food,

clothing, housing, family support, productive use of leisure time, medical help, care when ill. In return, assigned tasks must be done conscientiously. The well-done task makes legitimate a stake in the Kvutza. Economic struggles are not against one's fellow-man but with nature. The standard of living may be low, but it is general. Want does not feed resentment against "conspicuous waste".

Only the richest among us are free from this twinge of envy. The others, however highly placed, feel themselves surpassed. To look down on the less successful is of little avail. The desire for property does not feature moderation. Wealth and social status are correlated in our society : to lose wealth implies the loss of status. This is a source of insecurity. No such personal insecurity exists in the Kvutza. Status is chiefly determined by work. If the group meets with setbacks, the individual's status is unimpaired.

In short, comprehensive co-operation frees individuals from personal financial worries. To those almost never free from money troubles, this may seem utopian. They may even think of this freedom as the end of all difficulties, as Eden. This is far from the truth. The Kvutza is free of the dissociative results of property relations. But this proves that the elimination of one type of dissociation does not eradicate it entirely. This disappoints the utopian, but it instructs us on the true character of social organization based on comprehensive co-operation.

### EQUALITY

The genuine equality of Kvutza members is an associative aspect significantly related to its "propertylessness". The Kvutza is thereby protected from social upheavals which arise continuously in competitive society with its strata of generally antagonistic social classes.

The Kvutza must assign each individual his place within the group. This is easy because there is economic equality. There is a certain stratification, even in the Kvutza, but there are no classes. The problems, frictions, and disturbances of competitive society, as well as its violent eruptions due to discontents, are reduced to a negligible minimum in the Kvutza. In competitive society, these are caused by "vertical" and by "horizontal" social mobility. In the Kvutza, these characteristics do not exist.<sup>104</sup>

Even this minimum of frictions is foreign to the Kvutza. Absence of social stratification is no accident. Equality is its root. Free to shape its social organization, the Kvutza eliminated, at the start, private ownership of the means of production and its derivatives, exploitation and profit. It made work its essential concern, while comprehensive co-operation established the mode of its personal interrelations, and equality, based on "propertylessness", was the matrix of its social system. The individual is upright and confident due to the strength of solidarity and the vital experiences it entails. It leaves its mark indelibly on all who have participated actively in the Kvutza. Its typical manifestations are industry, simplicity, self-confidence, and all the eminently associative traits such as mutual trust, selflessness, helpfulness, and loyalty. Readiness to make sacrifices, a supremely associative attitude, is not rare. The Kvutza considers a "good worker" the highest honour; this is associative. The "good worker" is the common measure for all other distinctions. Intelligence, education, pleasing personality, in themselves do not make a reputation. They are accessory to the fundamental honour, that of doing a good day's work. Where work is the supreme value, all impersonal causes of social distinction, such as "background", "good family", "noble descent", can have no weight. They are referred to in a derogatory way, even derisively.

Another associative attitude which the Kvutza fosters is responsibility and its counterpart, self-control, even if imperfectly realized. Even the Kvutza is unable to free itself of the "will for privilege". Privileges are more often rejected, though, than anywhere else. To be delegated to congresses or to be sent abroad is not coveted. The competitive edge is off, and self-control is by that much the master.

#### INTELLECTUAL MUTUALITY

Comprehensive co-operation is most impressive in intellectual matters. Those who were better educated before they became members, share unstintingly with those less privileged. Through intellectual mutuality, a highly associative trait, the Kvutza has developed highly effective adult education.

In a competitive society, education is a means of social differentiation and selection.<sup>105</sup> The propertied can provide a better education than the poor. This inequality is foreign to the

Kvutza. But the advantages of equality in economic life are not transferred *en bloc* to the intellectual one. "Propertylessness" does not impede economic progress. But intellectual equality on the basis of ignorance would be retrograde.

There is no such danger. Imparting one's knowledge does not lessen but enhances its import. Education is transformed from a means of differentiation and dissociation into a means of equalization and association.

Despite this, not only intellect (which, after all, seems to be biologically determined in part) but also knowledge differs in the Kvutza. Even intensive exchanges of ideas cannot always compensate for years of systematic study. True equality can be expected among those born, or who grew up, in the Kvutza, and whose education, from the start, was free of the taint of privilege and was received amidst economic and social equality. Education is, as we have seen, highly progressive and experimental, and this brings up an intriguing question. Such favourable conditions should produce excellent results. Talent should appear more often than in competitive society.

However, internal social equality is not everything. The budget of a Kvutza will affect its education, through the number of teachers employed, and the facilities and equipment of the school, as well as the number of years of schooling. The Kvutza may not be able to maintain institutions of higher learning, in the near future. It has difficulty, now, in providing necessary textbooks. The pupils remain in the youth-group until they are seventeen, but they are expected to put in a six-hour work-day, and more in emergencies. No formal instruction is given those over seventeen. Until the Kvutzot can maintain schools on a college level, comparable with those in competitive society, it will not be possible to measure the effects of the social organization on education.

There is a sound basis for conjecture thereon. The prematurely deceased French scholar, Alfred Odin, has given us appropriate data. He investigated the conditions under which literary talent or genius came about in France. He correlated economic and educational facts and these with the frequency of talent. His findings, if indicative, demonstrate that talent will not be manifested equally, whatever the circumstances. In his *Genèse des Grands Hommes*,<sup>106</sup> he has studied the period commencing in the fourteenth century and ending in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. His results are summarized in two tables,

one referring to the economic and the other to the educational background of the authors. The economic figures for 619 authors are :

Period.	Number who grew up in full economic independence.	Number who grew up in poverty or economic insecurity.
1300-1500.	24	1
1501-1550.	39	4
1551-1600.	42	—
1601-1650.	84	5
1651-1700.	73	4
1701-1725.	36	3
1726-1750.	53	9
1751-1775.	86	8
1776-1800.	52	12
1801-1825.	73	11
Total	562	Total 57

If we take the sum total we see that ". . . only the eleventh part of all the recognized authors have spent their youth under strained economic conditions".<sup>107</sup>

But even more striking is the correlation between education and talent or even genius. From the following data, note the number of authors (out of 827 authors) who received a good education, and the number who received only a mediocre education or none at all.

Period.	Number with good education.	Number with mediocre education or with none.
1301-1500.	33	0
1501-1550.	58	2
1551-1600.	52	0
1601-1650.	101	7
1651-1700.	91	0
1701-1725.	56	0
1726-1750.	89	1
1751-1775.	116	2
1776-1800.	83	2
1801-1825.	132	2 (1?)
Total	811	Total 16 (15?) <sup>108</sup>

Only 2 per cent. of recognized authors had not received a good education. "Thus, if literary success depends on the economic conditions under which the author grew up it does so mainly because of the direct relationship which necessarily exists between the economic status of the individual and his chance to obtain a more than average education."<sup>109</sup>

If such reasoning is correct, then we have a firmer base for expecting that the economic as well as educational equalization in the Kvutza will eliminate external restraints on the manifestation of talent. This, in turn, should increase the proportion of talent, provided that equalization is not attained at a prohibitively low level and provided, further, that the Kvutza contains a normal distribution of potential talents.

Even these qualified hopes may not soon be realized. The Kvutza's standard of living can scarcely improve to a point where it can afford schools equivalent to the higher institutions in competitive society. Thus, truly equal opportunity may not show its fruit in the production of genius. But it is just this equality, together with unsystematized educational factors in the Kvutza, that makes the experiment worth watching. Some interesting insights into the psychology of the gifted may be our reward.

#### THE "WE-SENTIMENT"—THE SOCIOMETRIC DEFINITION

Association is enhanced in the Kvutza by versatility, direct participation in administration, and the "we-sentiment". Of versatility and self-government we have written at length. But in evaluating these traits, we note that versatility and self-government are positive only when the group is small. Otherwise, versatility becomes superficial. Direct self-government is possible only so long as the group is "primary", where everyone is known personally.

The "we-sentiment" deserves more attention. The study of intra-group relationships is, in many respects, basic in sociology and has received much attention. Tönnies' "Gemeinschaft" as contrasted with "Gesellschaft", Durkheim and Levy-Bruhl's "collective representations"; Sumner's "in-group" as distinguished from "out-group", Cooley's "face-to-face associations" of the "primary group", and Giddings' "consciousness of kind" are steps in the subject's conceptual clarification.<sup>110</sup>

Wiese-Becker pointed out the influence of size upon group

relations. Clarification has turned from the general to the specific analysis of various types of groups, such as the "pair or dyad", the "triad", and the "medium-sized and large group".<sup>111</sup> J. L. Moreno has given further stimulus to the analysis of groups through the development of "sociometry". Moreno's method is suited to the investigation of groups like the Kvutza. It is presented briefly with the suggestion that it is a useful tool for research in this field.

The "we-sentiment" to Moreno is an interpersonal phenomenon. Phenomena of this sort can be reduced to "a simple unit of feeling transmitted from one individual toward another". He terms this feeling, projected at a distance, "tele".<sup>112</sup> This has no social existence by itself. It is an abstraction "comprehended as a process within a social atom", but it can, nevertheless, be classified according to its "social effect".<sup>113</sup> The "tele" can produce processes of attraction and repulsion. Where there is no "tele", there is no human interrelationship.

If Moreno had not gone beyond adding a Greek term for an abstraction, our understanding of the "we-sentiment" would have gone no further than in Wiese-Becker's reduction of social processes into association and dissociation. But Moreno's aims are more practical. For him, the goal is technical. He says he seeks a "technique of balancing the spontaneous social forces to the greatest possible harmony and unity of all".<sup>114</sup> His aim is to evolve a practical method by means of which the formation of new groups as well as the functioning of existing ones could be better handled. His genuine contribution is rather the defining of concepts of human interrelationships in operational terms. "Considering group formation," he says, "we must make the members of the prospective groups themselves the authors of the group to which they belong."<sup>115</sup> And the "sociometric test" he devised as "an instrument to measure the amount of organization shown by social groups" and which "requires an individual to choose his associates for any group of which he is or might become a member", is no mere tool of the academic. The use of this test should serve to improve human relationships to which it is applied: it can never be correctly used unless the person interviewed "warms up" to active participation and he "is caught by an emotional interest for a certain practical end he wishes to realize".<sup>116</sup> Some of the questions of the "population-test" illustrate this. They are: "Whom do you select to live with in the new town?" "Whom do you select as a co-worker

in any occupation?" or "Which families do you select as your neighbours?" The answers are classified and tabulated in the form of a "sociometric chart" in which the individuals are represented as points and the attraction or repulsion by lines connecting these points. This graphic demonstration of inter-relations within the group is of practical help to its planned enterprise.<sup>117</sup>

"We-sentiment", in Moreno's sociometry, is an operational concept; it is the sum total of mutual choices referring to all phases of life and work in the group. The more positive "tele" (the more attraction) and the less mutual repulsion among group members, the stronger is the "we-sentiment".

Moreno's book was published after our analysis of the Kvutza had begun. Hence, no sociometric test was used, but, from the study of the group, we have seen its basic emphasis on co-operation. The questions put in a sociometric test are being answered, in behaviour, by Kvutza members. They patently and consciously strive to increase lines of "attraction" in their relations.

They do not succeed completely in eliminating lines of "repulsion". Thorough and continuous self-criticism (as in the "trial"), recognition of achievement according to their values, and insistence on continued testing of the leadership are arrangements to reduce lines of repulsion to the unavoidable minimum. How far the Kvutza will succeed in this, we do not yet know. But the Kvutza does not aim at an earthly paradise, nor need it show its worth by becoming one. Certainly life without conflict would be dull. The Kvutza movement is growing steadily in members and settlements, and, though it has not eliminated dissociative trends, its appeal is becoming stronger. This would not be so if it did not satisfy more than do other types of rural settlements.

#### INTRUSION INTO THE PRIVATE SPHERE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

An ideal Kvutza would consist of those who work equally well, eat the same amount, are housed in identical rooms, use the same kind and number of clothes, beget the same number of children, desire the same entertainment, have the same ambition and strength of will, and, finally, think more of the other fellow than of themselves, while he, in turn, thinks the same. But, as it is formed by humans and not by utopian monsters, it is far from ideal. Men lag behind their postulates. Human society

whatever its economic bases, will show dissociative processes. The superiority of one society over another is not determined by the presence or absence of dissociation but by the proportions in which associative and dissociative processes are found. Even then, evaluation must remain subjective. Those who prefer discord, conflict, and violence to peace and harmony will prefer a society preponderantly dissociative. Most human beings, out of inertia if for no higher motives, incline towards a peaceful rather than pugnacious life, and thus a society preponderantly associative will be preferred.

Members do not enter the Kvutza as perfect Kvutzists, endowed with all that is required for this group life. They join and remain because they want to become such people. Even after a prolonged stay, they will behave in ways the Kvutza thinks disruptive or dissociative. These dissociative actions are not produced by economic inequalities but are rather due to shortcomings in the Kvutza's social organization or to the dissociative attitudes of the members.

One of the main shortcomings is the inhibition of the private life of its members. The intimacy of life and work puts everyone under permanent and relentless control. It is impossible to leave for a single day without a valid reason or the treasurer's approval. This restriction of personal freedom is not to everyone's liking. But such supervision, unpleasant as it may be at times, is a necessary evil of comprehensive co-operation. It becomes a menace when, through ill-advised zeal, it oversteps the limits of tact and assumes censorship over the more intimate stirrings of the soul.

The sensitive and self-willed undoubtedly suffer. They easily drift into the "misunderstood" or "isolated". The Kvutzists are aware of the menace of such intrusions into man's private sphere. The defence against them has produced a slogan "Chofesh Laprat", i.e., in English, "Freedom to the Individual". Everyone upholds it individually; he is unable to impose it as group practice.

#### THE "WILL FOR PRIVILEGES"

The Kvutza has not been able to get rid of self-centred behaviour with its dissociative results. Even in equality, some know how to "arrogate" themselves privileges. This "will for privilege", of which the political "will to power" is an instance,

seems basic to social life, or, at any rate, seems the least manageable of dissociative attitudes. It has proved stronger than the Kvutza. It is not easy for the outside observer to discern its effects. Close examination shows that privileges exist. They are neither codified nor licensed, but they are seen in social gradations and strata.

Under any circumstances, there are few who do not desire "some peculiar right, favour, or immunity". In the Kvutza many members like to get objects that make them distinguished. A vase or a rug may be sneaked into a room to improve its appearance; another gets a head-start by "exaggerated devotion to work". To feel oneself superior, and have others attest it, is the ulterior motive. The relatively few who enter the Kvutza without this striving for distinction are generally thought odd or dull.

"Social ambition" produces the most harmful results of all these strivings. In the Kvutza, as elsewhere, those ambitions for leadership are more common than those so qualified. Close continuous observation makes it unlikely that this anomaly will be long unnoticed. Before it is abandoned, though, it produces that flora of false ambition, formation of cliques and factions, which may disturb group harmony.

### THE FORMATION OF CLIQUES

Cliques arise among those who had like experiences before their arrival in Palestine, either of common country, as townsmen, or of language identity prior to using Hebrew, or of similar education or co-operative life for years before entry into the Kvutza. Such common associations attract everywhere. So long as it goes no further in the Kvutza, it does no harm, as, for example, in the "protection" of new members by old. It is dissociative when these natural groupings are used by individuals in "Kvutza politics". Like all democracies, the Kvutza is not immune to the bacillus of pressure groups. Those with "social ambition" must win over the majority to their side. What instrument can compare with the "pressure group", whether clique or faction, for this victory?

There are always issues with more than one solution. Candidates' qualifications, positions to be taken on political events, and controversial contracts are typical. When the interests of a clique prevail over that of the group, in the determination of

these issues, the harm is similar to that done by faction to a nation's welfare.

The very existence of the Kvutza is in co-operation. Cleavages of this sort are especially acute, for that reason. They cause unrest, they irritate, they may lead to splits and even secession. In a celebrated instance, an ambitious member used differences of ideological emphasis between the Kibbutz Hameuhad and the Kibbutz Arzi to lead a considerable group out of Arzi and to form a new Kvutza affiliated with Hameuhad.

While dissensions, or group formations, within the settlement are always harmful, sometimes they are merely transitory. A configuration of members takes the same side in a given argument, or on an issue, and is naturally dissolved when the argument or issue is no longer vital. Factions become more nearly permanent when they are based on explicit "principles" which endure longer than any given issue : the principle is used to judge the merit of any specific argument. Such a faction strives to make converts and resorts to political tactics, diplomacy, or pressures.

The Kvutza, as elsewhere, includes slow thinkers, dependent spirits, and the confused or dubious. They accept leadership of the more intelligent, quick-thinking, or experienced individual. Their opinions are those of the more alert members. These weaker persons are a challenge to the sense of responsibility of the better endowed. Unfortunately, even here the need for superiority gains over purer motives. Phrasemongers and wordsmiths employ demagogery. "Priests and lawyers" one bitter member called them. They have neither office nor insignia, but they delight in litigation and are oily in officiousness.

Factions are most noxious when a "politicizing" group concludes that unfair means are proper to achieve its ends. Speeches are made to "carry away" the opponent rather than to impose argument by fact. Worse, the threat of resignation is utilized. This flaunts democracy. Consent is not then given freely. It calculates with pressures. But for the Kvutza the very worst result is the provocation of conflict merely for the fun of quelling it. This is "politics for politics' sake". It is so frivolous as to seem impossible in the Kvutza ; yet there are sporadic instances.

Most of the Kvutzot, especially those of Kibbutz Hameuhad, conform politically to a common view. Nevertheless, there are Kvutzot, especially in Kibbutz Arzi, where members are aligned in political feuds. Oddly, the partisans even exclude from their meetings those opponents who are members of the same Kvutza.

### THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

When sociology abandoned the idea of a static society, it adopted the concept of society as a process. Problems of change, reform, and revolution were then much better understood. But little is known about the shaping of social processes towards desired aims. There are two opposing theories in social engineering. One maintains that effective change begins with changes in the entire social structure ; the other holds that only changes in the individual provide a reliable basis for a better social structure. One therefore advocates social changes, the other stresses education. One is revolutionary, the other reformist and evolutionary. Both doctrines are "either-or" and sociologically inadequate. Individuum and society are not mutually exclusive terms. They are mutually interdependent concepts which are never separated in reality. To change either term separately is, therefore, futile. Wherever we begin, change implies both individual and society. Changes in the social structure after a time necessarily affect the individual's attitudes and behaviour. Changed attitudes in their turn affect the social structure, and thus there is eternal dynamic sequence of individual and social effects.

The question of priority, of where to initiate change, is not significant. In any given situation, "social structure" and "individual" are in a "not only—but also" correlation. The problem of change is shifted to how to determine the amount of change needed in either term to produce a desired result.

To return to the Kvutza ; the "will for privilege" creates conflict and disruption, both dissociative. To make the Kvutza happy, these processes ought, apparently, to be eliminated. But a certain amount of friction, conflict, even antagonism, however unpleasant at times, also stimulates group life. It is only at a certain point of intensity that it begins to harm.

The question turns on what amount and intensity of dissociative processes are compatible with any society's welfare. This is not easy. But the problem is stated more precisely in the Kvutza, a circumstance that may help in its eventual solution.

### OTHER DISSOCIATIVE ATTITUDES—"GROUP EGOTISM"

There are other attitudes which contradict the egalitarian character of the Kvutza. Exclusiveness, the wish for social dis-

tinction, is based on competition and seems surprising in the Kvutza. But, though concealed and rarely admitted, there are traces.

They are found particularly in the Kibbutz Arzi. This Kibbutz makes exceptional demands on intellectual qualifications. To have met the test of higher selectivity breeds snobbishness in some. They incline to look down on the less distinguished. It is but a step from this to insolence towards minor lights in the group itself. The socially distinguished find it possible to work with those less important, but they do not want their intimacy.

The "slacker" is also obnoxious to a group based on work. Although not common, this type damages a Kvutza's reputation. It supports the critics of comprehensive co-operation who argue that group work favours shirkers. A member who evades unpleasant jobs, likes to "take care" of himself, reports sick, or claims special diet at every opportunity, is unfavourably regarded. He is sometimes called the Kvutza's "Public Enemy No. 1". If this disposition is merely suspected in a candidate, it ensures merciless rejection. But it makes its appearances, regrettably, among members. Since it is subject to contempt, it is well dissimulated.

Finally, the Kvutza is not free from "ossification" and "reaction". The older Kvutzot, which are economically well off, are particularly subject to these dangers. Stagnation sets in when things prosper for a while, mental agility lessens, daily interests absorb attention, and other issues appear vague. The "hick" makes his bow. This is "reaction" because the Kvutza aims at farming efficiency combined with mental alertness.

Nearly all these dissociative processes are not exclusively such. They can, within limits, produce associative effects. Interference with private life, factions, will for privilege, social ambition, division of opinion, exclusiveness, when properly limited, may even strengthen adherence to the Kvutza by making life fuller. Unfortunately, however, they rarely stop at the point where they are beneficial or at least harmless. That is why they are chiefly dissociative in Kvutza life.

One attitude which seems associative, on balance, is "group-egotism", the reverse side of the "we-sentiment", that most important ingredient for group life. So long as "we-sentiment" is present, the group has an excellent chance to resist destructive forces. It is not true, though it has been charged, that the Kvutza

merely substitutes "group egotism" for individual egotism. To think more of the group than of oneself is not strictly "egotism". It would be better, of course, if the group did not think its own interests ultimate but considered other groups equally. But "group egotism" seems the gateway to this larger view. Again, nearly every Kvutza belongs to a roof-organization, the Kibbutz, thus avoiding isolation which might otherwise flourish in the individual Kvutza.

The complete fixation of individuals to the group may become dissociative. Older Kvutza members become absorbed in the group. To them it means more than home, family, Zionism, socialism, or any idea for whose realization they joined it. This intense "group-egotism", like "exaggerated devotion to work", is apt to make members intolerant towards those less "devoted". Intolerance does not unite; it is an effective agent for driving people apart.

### EVALUATION

Summing up our analysis of associative and dissociative aspects of the Kvutza: the Kvutza ends material worries which then become group preoccupations. But all member relations do not thereby become purely associative, harmonious, positive. The Kvutza reveals quite a number of processes indicative of dissociative relations, such as clique formation, cleavages, even partisanship. It shows the effects of the "will to privilege". Continuous control of each other produces uneasiness, as does interference in man's private sphere. Opposed to these are the associative factors; the "good worker" is held in highest honour among all their titles to esteem. Here we find an acute sense of personal responsibility, steady self-discipline, gain in simplicity, industry, helpfulness, candour, trust, altruism, the dominance of solidarity and co-operation and of mutual attraction over the forces of conflict and repulsion.

The associative aspects are functions of the Kvutza character itself, whereas most of the dissociative characteristics are only partly so and apply to any human group.

The Kvutza indicates that an integrated culture is not necessarily dependent on a social organization based on private property. The Kvutza points to a more attractive, different culture which could grow out of comprehensive co-operation. That is in the future, and what the Kvutza's future will be is still in the realm of conjecture.

## CHAPTER XI

### PROSPECTS AND PERSPECTIVES

What are the prospects and perspectives implied by the previous study?

The basic data were gathered to test the "Frame of Reference of Plurality Patterns" as given in Wiese-Becker's *Systematic Sociology*. But the nature of the subject transcended mere academic objectivity. The social scientist works in a world studded with problems. He is human enough to respond to any apparently happy solution he encounters. The Kvutza is no panacea, but its new arrangements insinuate themselves as possible solutions of some of our problems. In discussing these arrangements, how can their appeal be avoided? Such implications cannot be deleted from a discussion of prospects and perspectives. We leave demonstrated fact and are enticed by assumptions.

Remembering this warning, we ask : Will the Kvutza survive or go the way of similar attempts? Correlatively, has it been a success?

Its history has been too short to warrant definite conclusions as to its future. Harry Viteles states clearly :

After thirteen years of rather intimate contact with these settlements . . . I submit that it is premature to pass final judgment or to make even an evaluation of these communitarian settlements. In the first place the majority of the Kvutzot and Kibbutzim . . . are less than ten years old. You cannot pass judgment on the efficacy or on the future of any such important type of co-operative living within a period of ten years or less.<sup>118</sup>

To conjure with the Kvutza's future may add to our understanding of it as it is to-day, though this calls for precautions. The Kvutza must be apprehended intelligently as to its essential character. It did not develop, as did the utopian communities described by Gide,<sup>119</sup> out of religious or reformist preconceptions but out of economic necessity in the Zionist colonization. The alternatives were not group or individual settlements, but group settlements or none at all.<sup>120</sup> It was realistic, even though aided by a bold sociological imagination. It resembles Gide's "communitarian settlements" only because it is surrounded by a differently organized society. It is subject to the peculiar peril

of such colonies, namely, that they are threatened by success.<sup>121</sup> Failure means that they cease to exist, but if they achieve abundance, "sharing out" insinuates itself and destroys their co-operative way of life.

#### HISTORIC AND SOCIO-POLITICAL CAUSES OF POTENTIAL FAILURE

What may contribute to the Kvutza's failure? Partly historical, partly socio-political and economic causes must be reviewed.

It is historically connected with Zionism. The Kvutzot, particularly the older and well-established ones, are largely self-supporting, though on a relatively low standard of living. Emphasis on self-sufficiency has made them resist crisis better than their Jewish neighbours.<sup>122</sup> Yet the Kvutzot are equally dependent on the financial and moral support of Jews outside Palestine. Should Zionist colonization collapse, the Kvutza would be destroyed.

The social and political dangers are those of a community practising comprehensive co-operation in an essentially capitalist society. It is something of an "anticipation".

Those who are ahead of their times must work harder to justify their existence as against "established organizations". The Kvutza is more favourably situated in this regard. It began, not arbitrarily, but as the form of social organization that was most promising when founded. But since its purpose seems to have been fulfilled, the Kvutza's "radicalism" might now seem superfluous or disturbing. Once the general situation is consolidated, its "radicalism" might be thought far-reaching and made a butt of attacks.

Part of such an attack was the insistence on Sabbath observance made by the Jewish Agency on the occasion of the contracts. Might not the next step be a demand for the suppression of the "immoral" form of marriage or the "cruel" separation of children from parents, or, further, insistence on the re-institution of private property? Every distinguishing feature of the Kvutza could thus be threatened.

More political are the dangers arising from the relation of the whole Jewish population to the Arabs. The Kvutza is more affected thereby than the rest of the Zionist settlement. The Kvutzist lives closest to the impoverished Arab masses. Arab unrest is first expressed in violent attacks against the Kvutzot,

which are far more exposed than urban settlements. That is why the Kvutzot are so deeply concerned with the Arab problem. They do their best to cultivate friendship, and often they have the reward of seeing their "own Arabs" (their neighbours) loyal to them even during the worst riots. But this does not shield them from attack, murder, and arson at the hands of "foreign" Arabs.

The mandate power, Great Britain, has not proved helpful. Its proposed solutions, such as the notorious partition project, were opposed by both peoples. It sought to create two autonomous states in Palestine: an Arab and a Jewish one. The war has proved more constructive than the mandate's schemes, because the administration finds it desirable, for once, to rule without dividing. But the post-war situation is hard to predict. Much depends on how the war is won by the United Nations: the fate of Palestinian Jewry is still more a riddle than subject to sound conjecture.

Responsible Zionist leaders look to Arab co-operation. This hopeful tendency has long been that of the Kvutzot. But it is still possible that the Kvutzot may have little say in this matter. Their fate may be decided, as it has been up to now in this "much too promised" land, without consulting those most immediately concerned.

#### ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY—KVUTZA AND MOSHAV COMPARED

The gravest possibility of failure is economic. Should historical and political forces destroy the Kvutza, such failure would prove merely that the Kvutza was not stronger than the whole of which it is a part. It would not show that the Kvutza, as a social organization, had failed. But economic inefficiency, ultimately, would indicate that it was unfit to survive. Since the Kvutza is not the only type of rural settlement in Palestine, its economic efficiency should first compare favourably with related types, especially the "smallholders' settlement", the Moshav-Ovdim.

The Kvutza is neither part of a philanthropic project nor a social welfare agency for the alleviation of psychic or material maladjustment. It is part of a practical reconstruction enterprise. As such, it may depend largely on voluntary contributions, but its future depends wholly on whether, and to what extent, it can become self-supporting. It is this sober conception

that makes Zionist colonization so wholesome, contrasted to the preceding "Hallukah" immigration, dependent on gifts. It is not only a proper pride which makes Zionists loyal to this un-sentimental conception. It is, above all, their concern for the future of their achievements.

Economic survival is based on efficiency, which can best be measured by its "rentability". Ruppin was right in holding that not the type of social organization but "ability to pay" was the criterion.<sup>123</sup> Bluntly, should the Kvutza fail to become self-supporting within a reasonable time, or should it lag too far behind the other types of rural settlements, the responsible agencies could not justify their covering the deficiency. They would have to insist that it be transformed into the more efficient types.

At present that danger seems negligible. The 1935 repayment stipulations were met promptly by most of the Kvutzot, and later reports show that their economic condition is still better.<sup>124</sup> Individual farming concentrated on cash crops (mostly citrus) and was hard hit by loss of exports, while the products of Kvutza mixed farming are in greater demand due to reduced imports and to the presence of the Allied military forces. This situation will probably change after the war, but it may not be adverse for the Kvutza. Peace should bring about an increased Jewish immigration into Palestine.

More serious is the comparison with the co-operative small-holders' settlement or Moshav. We have noted that it is intermediate between individualist villages and the Kvutza, combining features of both. It is closer to the Kvutza form, as a whole. But though common traits are more numerous, the differences are more significant. Both settle on national land and accept the principles of self-labour, non-exploitation of others, and mutual aid in all walks of life.<sup>125</sup> Both aim at maximum self-sufficiency, and both adopt mixed farming. Both are managed by an elected committee and special subcommittees in both economic and social activities. Both accept a common plan of farming; in both, every member must participate in any collective economic or cultural enterprise accepted by a majority of members at a general meeting. Finally, both give members' wives equal voting power.

The Moshav, however, consists of individual settlers, either proprietors or tenants, who have either land, houses, or cattle. In the Moshav, work is carried out on an individual basis.

Every member is entitled to the proceeds of his labour. Cultivation of certain area and products, irrigation, sale and purchase of products and commodities, use of farm machines and storage, and production of property are collective features. There is also mutual aid in illness, or in the loss of an adult member of a family. The group may assume responsibility for the children of a deceased member. But in such mutual aid, the member is required to pay fixed charges and fees for specific services as well as an "income tax" to cover social services and other mutual aid. Any loss incurred by a group of members in activities on their own behalf is their liability. Finally, though women vote and education is run co-operatively, the family unit is intact.

The Moshav has many points of resemblance to the Kvutza, and it has a special appeal to those who prefer co-operation but cherish privacy. But Kvutza advocates stress its unmistakable advantages over this restricted co-operation. Disposition of labour is more efficient, initial investment is smaller. For instance, in the Moshav each member must milk his own cows, and one of the family must rise for that early milking. If there is one adult in the family, he must lose this sleep every day. In the Kvutza, such tasks are rotated; members enjoy adequate rest between assignments. Since Zionist colonization was made acute because of a shortage of land for a large number of immigrants, it was necessary to exploit land intensively. The Kvutza cost less to set up and conducted operations at a minimum of expense.

It seems that Kvutza advocates are still gaining. From 1908 to 1936, 50 Kvutzot were organized and 35 Moshve-Ovdim were newly established or reorganized from existing settlements. But from 1936 to 1939, new Kvutzot were 26, new Moshve-Ovdim only 9.<sup>126</sup> The ration of Kvutzot to Moshve established has doubled.

#### POSSIBILITY OF "SHARING OUT"

But statistics are not the whole story. It is not so much the recent past nor present trends which may portend grave trouble for the Kvutza as conjectured dangers from its success.

Zionist colonization suffered principally from a shortage of trained settlers. The Kvutza proved the most efficient, if not the only way to cope with this (see Chapter I). Group settlement gave the unskilled their most economic training oppor-

tunities, for a few experts could teach many inexperienced members. This type of settlement was a small investment risk. Strict selectivity of candidates reduced losses, since removal of a candidate cost much less than the defection of an individual settler. By virtue of these merits, the Kvutza earned its title "the cradle of Jewish agriculture in Palestine".

But cradles are outgrown by their occupants. Paradoxically, the significance of the Kvutza in disseminating farming knowledge diminishes in proportion to its accomplishments in this respect. "With the appearance of large numbers of agricultural workers," observes Ruppin, "the emphasis on the Kvutza disappears."<sup>127</sup>

If this be true, mere growth in numbers and membership may not assure Kvutza predominance. The skill acquired in the Kvutza may serve to equip its possessor for more attractive employments. The Kvutza need not abdicate: it might be relegated to the rôle of a training school for the supply of skilled farm labour. But it would lose its character as a new and significant form of social organization.

Less ominous are the perils that may come from abundance. The Kvutza, like other "communitarian" groups, once economically successful, may become smug and shed its more exacting principles. It may engender the "desire for differential consumption", as Steckert calls it,<sup>128</sup> which may end in a demand for "sharing out".<sup>129</sup> There are forebodings. It is reported that some Kvutzot, such as Gan Shmuel, have discussed monthly cash allowances to members for individual use. Kfar Gileadi, among others, planned the lay-out of its buildings to make a future "sharing-out" relatively easy. Whatever the possibilities Palestine Jewry and the Kvutzot will probably long remain near a subsistence level. Until greater abundance is made general, this peril cannot be serious.

#### THE KVUTZA DEMONSTRATES THE TRUTH OF A LAW

What, then, are the chances of Kvutza survival? Dangers outside itself are too dependent on world events to be predictable. Economic perils, either out of failure or success, although present, are not portentous. Economic trends seem highly favourable in the present and near future. In short, though it may fail for reasons outside its control, still, on its own results, its chances of survival are bright. Is it, then, successful? Is it the sole "com-

munitarian" development so fortunate? Gide, who, when he wrote, knew of it, thought there was no such instance. But he prophesied that it was not "improbable that some day there may be one that will live on permanently". He thought it likely "that either this century or the next, these communitarian associations—or integral co-operative societies, if you like—may occupy as large a place . . . as the religious communities did in the Middle Ages".<sup>130</sup>

Ten years later, Harry Viteles referred to Gide's study but would not venture to state "whether we can cite as an example one or two of the communitarian settlements in Palestine (i.e., the Kvutza) as having fulfilled Gide's prophecy because they have existed twenty-five years".<sup>131</sup>

Viteles points out that he is hesitant because that is too short a time to permit a decisive test of success. He would have been more confident had he accepted Gide's criteria preceding this "prophecy". Gide discards permanency as the one determinant of success; "Are we, then, to expect them to be immortal?" He answers: "No, for how many business companies or commercial houses are there which can celebrate their centenary? Few indeed. So why be astounded if out of two hundred communist societies . . . only two or three should be able to celebrate their hundredth birthday?" The fact that . . . some have existed a "long time", Gide takes as proof they are practicable. "The real proof of vitality lies not in continuance but in rebirth," he states elsewhere.<sup>132</sup>

One generation is short in the span of history, but for human ends it is not a short period, especially when, as with the Kvutza, this period does not mark the term of its existence but a vigorous beginning of growth. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Palestine, as would any fair objective witness, grants the Kvutza a "clean bill of health".

The Kvutza is one example of an experiment in "communitarian" society formation, which has succeeded. The Kvutza has, therefore, done more than prove that the form of its socio-economic organization is practicable. It has established "the truth of a law", to quote Gide once more, in the same way as a single successful experiment in the physical or chemical sciences. "A hundred unsuccessful experiments prove nothing against one that succeeds."<sup>133</sup>

## THE KVUTZA AND RURAL PROBLEMS IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

The Kvutza has really proven the "truth of a law". Its success must be measured by the value of this truth and not by the accidents that may affect its continuance. If the knowledge of a scientific law is preserved, it does not matter that the laboratory in which it was discovered is destroyed. In the same way, the Kvutza has demonstrated the practicability of the extreme form of comprehensive co-operation, and this lesson is valid even should Zionism fail. After its successful demonstration, its validity depends on the degree and scope of its application outside the experimental situation rather than on continuance, or even repetition, under the same conditions. The "truth" of the Kvutza will be tested by its contribution to the solution of similar problems in cultural patterns other than the Palestinian.

The final consideration in this study is the applicability of the Kvutza type outside Palestine, especially in the United States and the areas of post-war resettlement.

Prominent leaders think it may have this bearing. Sir Arthur Wauchope, High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of Palestine and Transjordania from 1931 to 1938, "with a more intimate knowledge of these communal settlements than most people possess," told the Overseas League in London, that if changes in our social or economic structure are to be discussed, then it is worth while to consider . . . the one example of such a system where people actually do live on an equal economic basis. And this example is of a people who can be judged by their deeds rather than by their theories and who have made a success of their life for more than a generation.<sup>134</sup>

In the United States, Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, former Secretary of Agriculture, discussing Jewish colonization in Palestine in an article entitled "The Most Exciting Enterprise in the World" says, referring to the spirit of the Prophets, "And so I, a Gentile, regard the translation of this spirit into tangible reality as the most exciting undertaking in the world—a spirit which comes down from the olden time, but a spirit which is forward-looking."

Similarly, W. C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, who made a thorough study of land reclamation in Palestine and spent some time in the Kvutzot, writes: "Jewish colonization in Palestine raises some fundamental questions in

land use and in the formulation of land use policies in the United States, and in the world at large, for that matter. The implications have international significance.”<sup>135</sup>

A realistic discussion of the applicability of the Kvutza to the United States must first decide whether we have problems comparable to those encountered by the Palestine pioneers. Lowdermilk maintains that “from their earliest period of modern colonization (1882) to the present day the experiences of the Jewish settlers in Palestine resemble in many respects the pioneer days in America”, but such a parallel is difficult to establish. Meaningful comparisons require a clear definition of the compared units.

So long as such scientific comparison is lacking, we can merely say that the United States has its own farm problems, apparently not caused only by transient conditions. Further, those in responsible positions think these problems very serious and fear they will be aggravated unless there is prompt, drastic action. It is most impressive that attempts to deal with these problems have mostly used co-operation.

The Report of the President’s Commission (to quote only one authoritative source) describes the situation in the United States : “ Tenancy has increased from 25 per cent. of all farmers in 1880 to 43 per cent. in 1935 . . . it is estimated that the equity of operating farmers in their lands is little more than one-fifth. Nearly four-fifths is in the hands of landlords and mortgage holders.”

It cites tenants, croppers, farm labourers, families on submarginal lands and on holdings of inadequate size as economically insecure groups, as well as young farm people unable to obtain farms. The causes of this “insecurity” are listed as :

- (1) Economic maladjustment ;
- (2) Defective land and credit policies ;
- (3) Consequences of fee-simple ownership (i.e., use of land for speculation, not for farming) ;
- (4) Credit disabilities ;
- (5) Soil erosion ;
- (6) Erosion of society (i.e., shifting citizenry).<sup>136</sup>

Practically all these causes of insecurity are found in Palestine.

It is significant to us that the practical recommendations in this report, made on the bases of its analyses, strongly emphasize co-operative procedures.<sup>137</sup>

For a time these recommendations were partly carried out by the Farm Security Administration. This government agency helped 300,000 people to join 16,000 existing marketing and processing co-operatives,<sup>138</sup> and it helped 1,699 families to establish 31 so-called "lend-lease co-operatives" on 31 Southern plantations.<sup>139</sup> It founded more than 20 large-scale co-operative farms to ascertain experimentally whether it would be possible to combine the traditional family-type farm with the efficiency of large-scale mechanized operations.<sup>140</sup>

### THE KVUTZA AND POST-WAR RESETTLEMENT

The Farm Security Administration, before the Second World War, had begun to experiment with co-operative procedures to cope with peace-time difficulties. At the end of this war millions of young people will be released for work, and technical conditions will have altered. This emergency may have grave implications. Even subsistence may then become a serious problem. A real help for a considerable number of those concerned may come through knowledge of the Kvutza's performance. Sir Arthur Wauchope made this opinion the occasion for his cited address.

According to sound estimates, many millions must be resettled in Europe. This programme of resettlement, either in European regions or overseas, will be largely dependent on opportunities for rural colonization in tropical or subtropical countries. The governments concerned may advance large funds for this resettlement, but these funds will not suffice. The Kvutza has convincingly demonstrated that group settlement, under certain conditions, can be more practical than individual settlement. It would be wise to multiply the usefulness of available funds by applying the group principle instead of relying exclusively on the conservative method of individual resettlement.

These considerations justify investigation of the problems which must be met if this policy is carried out. They are not few.

Shall co-operation be segmental or comprehensive? Or, in Palestinian terms, how choose between the extreme form of comprehensive co-operation and the small-holders' settlement? Kvutza or Moshav? It might seem that the intermediate form of the Moshav would encounter the fewer obstacles. But the unwillingness to go the whole way may explain the failure of nearly all co-operative settlements in the past. Such is authori-

tative opinion ; thus Gide, in what is probably the most scientific analysis, states that while private property gives rise to conflict so does community ownership and more frequently.<sup>141</sup>

Gide's observations seem sociologically reasonable. A half-and-half arrangement, instead of diminishing the causes of conflict inherent in one category, private property, adds those of another kind, namely, shared property. Franz Oppenheimer was not only a noted scholar but had continuous practical experience with co-operative settlements. He states that their success was " greater the more closely the organization approached the ideal form ".<sup>142</sup>

The Kvutza is nearer this ideal than the Moshav. This is made clear by their respective rôles in Palestine's cultural life. The Moshav appeals to a more conservative and less mobile type and is quite passive in intellectual life. For the first time since city and country parted, the Kvutza has transferred intellectual leadership to the country. The Kvutzist in his visits to town shows nothing of the bumpkin visiting the burgess. He is accustomed to being looked up to, first as a manual labourer, but more as the moulder of and participant in a new and superior form of life. Jewish urban areas in Palestine often look country-wards for spiritual guidance.

Post-war resettlement is concerned not merely with rural employments. Rather, to use Borsodi's formulation, it is to create a " way of living which is neither city life nor country life but which is an effort to combine the advantages and to escape the disadvantages of both. . . ." <sup>143</sup> Only a co-operative community of this sort can attract superior or " key " personalities of our time. On that human contribution is based the significant future of co-operation.

Outside this central controversy, the application of the Kvutza principle presents two intriguing problems. First, the Kvutza endured because its membership accepted privation and still tolerate a relatively low standard of living. Will persons in resettlements, either in the United States or even in other lands, be so compliant ? In the beginning, a relatively low standard of living is unavoidable. If, on the other hand, a higher standard of living is insisted on, how will that affect the form of the Kvutza-type settlement ? Second, ideas have been crucial in establishing and sustaining the Kvutza. They were three : Zionism, that is the building of a Jewish Home through the historic rehabilitation of a people as demonstrated by its ability in manual labour ; the

Youth movement and its revolt against urbanism ; social reform, that ideal of reconstructing society on the basis of social justice, whose opportunity was the building of a national home.

Are there ideas which could equally stimulate co-operative settlements outside Palestine ? Ideas that so animate labour and enrich life and fortify endurance must be vital, that is, arise organically. Experience is decisive on this. Such ideas cannot be imposed " cold ".

There are, of course, other problems : administration of farm economy, size of settlements, turnover. But they are pendants to the two central queries. If the latter cannot be answered, an extension of Kvutza principles to other parts of the world seems dubious. But if their analogies can be made real, the rest of the task, though difficult, is feasible.

Once this spirit is re-created, even a low standard of living will be overcome, and a higher standard serve as a spur. Can we find motivating ideas such as those which enchanted men who came to the Kvutza ? If so, the settlers would remain, because of their vital experience of security, the end of personal economic worries. That is the rock of the Kvutza.

Regrettably, like all potent emotion, security must be directly, inwardly experienced. This means that such problems cannot be attacked, let alone solved, by application of mere theory or academic research. Progress depends on action ; many learned controversies will not match one demonstration. The first group established outside Palestine will supersede a hundred tomes.

Accordingly, the Rural Settlement Institute has been founded to encourage the establishment of such groups.

Many are inclined to this comprehensive co-operative way of life. These experiments would give them an opportunity to test their ideals through practice. In the process, they would explore the true merits of co-operative living. Their experiences would undoubtedly provide material for many other challenging studies.

## NOTES

1. Mark A. May and Leonard W. Doob, *Competition and Cooperation*. *Social Science Research Council, Bulletin No. 25* (New York, April, 1937), p. 2.
2. Ibid., p. 141. See also Lee M. Brooks and Mary Alice Eaton, "The Concept of Cooperation in Textbooks of Introductory Sociology", *Social Forces*, No. 1 (October, 1941).
3. For the same definition of "segmental" and "comprehensive" co-operation, see Heinrich Infeld, "The Cooperative Community: A Note on a Potential New Field of Sociological Research", *American Sociological Review*, VII, No. 6 (December, 1942).
4. The term "comprehensive co-operation" is used here in the same sense as Laserre's "integral co-operation". See his *Co-opératisme Integral* (Bâle, 1927). We have preferred to use "comprehensive": first, because it facilitates differentiation from the other (segmental) type of co-operation, and, second, because Laserre's term was formulated prior to any practice and thus carries a blueprint connotation, whereas "comprehensive", derived from observed practice, is not so limited.
5. Ralph Albertson, "A Survey of Mutualistic Communities in America", *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXXIV (October, 1936), p. 440. See also Charles Gide, *Communist and Co-operative Colonies* (London, 1930), p. 149.
6. See Bertha M. Shambaugh, "Amana in Transition", *The Palimpsest*, XVII, No. 5.
7. Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology on the Basis of the Beziehungslehre and Gebildelehre of Leopold von Wiese*. See also Heinrich Infeld's analysis in *American Sociological Review*, I, No. 5 (October, 1936), pp. 836 ff.
8. See Frank Adams, "Palestine Agriculture", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science: Special Palestine Issue, November, 1932*, pp. 72 ff.
9. We are indebted to Arthur Ruppин for most of our information about agricultural colonization in Palestine. See his *The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine* (tr. by R. J. Feivel), Martin Hopkinson, (London, 1926). See also his *Die Soziologie der Juden* (Berlin, 1930-1), especially Vol. II, *Der Kampf der Juden um ihre Zukunft*.
10. Hugo Hermann, *Palästinakunde* (Vienna, 1934-5).
11. Maurice J. Karpf, *Jewish Community Organization in the United States* (Bloch Pub. Co., 1938), Table 13, p. 33.
12. Arthur Ruppин, *Soziologie der Juden*, p. 255.
13. —— *The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine*.
14. Franz Oppenheimer, *Merhabiah, A Jewish Cooperative Settlement in Palestine* (1914). This pamphlet shows the influence of the utopian novel, *Freiland*, by the Viennese journalist Thedor Hertzka's.
15. Several factual studies of the problems of community co-operation have recently appeared. Besides those cited, of Gide and May and Doob, consult Margaret Mead, *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937); Arthur E. Morgan, *The Small Community: Foundation of Democratic Life* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1942); Emanuel Lasker, *The Community of the Future* (New York: M. J. Bernin, 1940); Carey McWilliams, *Ill Fares the Land* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1942), especially Chap. XVII, "From Talk to Action"; Seba Aldridge and Associates, *Development of Collective Enterprise, Dynamics of an Emergent Economy* (University of Kansas Press, 1943), especially Chap. XV, "Rural Resettlement", by

Lowry Nelson; Lord Russell, *Men of Earth* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1932), especially pp. 280-9.

16. See Shalom Wurm's chapter, "Ethos of Work", in his *The Kvutza* (New York: Habonim, 1942). He states: "To the Kvutza labour became religion"; note that he refers to the "ideal of labour" and the "ethical value of labour".

17. A vivid and candid picture of the formative stages of a Kvutza is presented in *First Fruits, Leaves from the Journal of Ein Hashofet Palestine, July, 1937-July, 1938* (Jerusalem: Keren Kayemeth Leisrael and Keren Hayesod, 1938). Although this Kvutza was recently established (July, 1937) it repeats the original pattern most cruelly, down to the murder of three of its members by Arabs.

18. N. W. Hazen, "Agriculture in Palestine and the Development of Jewish Colonization", *Foreign Agriculture* (U.S. Dept. of Agricultural Economics, I, No. 3 [March, 1937]), p. 130.

19. *Anti-Malaria and Drainage Work by Jewish Bodies* (Jerusalem, 1936)—a memorandum submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission on behalf of The Jewish Agency for Palestine.

20. Hazen, op. cit., p. 122.

21. Committee on Work in Industry of the National Research Council, *Fatigue of Workers, Its Relation to Industrial Production* (New York: Reinhold Pub. Co., 1941), pp. 153 f. The section is based on Chester L. Barnard's study, *The Functions of the Executive* (Harvard University Press, 1938).

22. Wurm refers to a "category of people in the Kvutzot who, unwittingly, are striving to make work an artistic creation". Op. cit. p. 25,

23. Avraham Ben-Shalom, *Deep Furrows* [tr. by Frances Burne] (New York: Hashomer Hatzair Organization, 1937).

24. See Wurm, op. cit., p. 24: "This puritanism of the labour enthusiast sometimes assumed a taint of fanaticism. In one of his letters written in 1919, Yosef Bussel, the founder of Dagania, tells of the rank-and-file of the Kvutza who looked at their leaders with disdain because they sometimes did other than manual labour. This attitude, he says, was caused not by envy but by the devotion to the deep ethos with which they had endowed physical labour."

25. Ben-Shalom, op. cit., p. 245.

26. "Psycho-Social Characteristics of the Farmer Class", a selection from Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature of the Wealth of Nations*, in Sorokin et al., *A Systematic Source-Book of Rural Sociology* (University of Minnesota Press, 1930), Vol. I, p. 123: "The direction of (agricultural) operations besides, which must be varied with every change of weather, as well as with many other accidents, requires much more judgment and discretion than that of those which are always the same or nearly the same."

27. Hazen, op. cit., p. 137; also Ben-Shalom, op. cit., pp. 223 ff.

28. A. Demangeon, "Geography and Rural Habitat", in Sorokin et al., op. cit., p. 287.

29. Ibid. Also, a survey of refugee settlements in the Dominican Republic (Chap. III) points out that individual settlement is less costly than mass-refugee settlement (*Refugee Settlement in the Dominican Republic: A Survey Conducted under the Auspices of the Brookings Institution*, Washington, D.C., 1942, p. 19). This may be true under certain conditions. Where mass settlement implies opening of new areas it will certainly cost more than "infiltration" of immigrants into districts already well developed. But the individual settler can succeed only if he is a trained farmer, whereas the main problem in Palestine (as in all refugee settlements) was that the mass of settlers had no farming experience. Group settlements of the Kvutza type survived where individual settlements either had no chance or would have been extremely uneconomic as operating units.

30. See *Farm Tenancy, Report of the President's Committee* (Washington, D.C., February, 1937) ; R. W. Hudgens, "Significance of our Low-Income Farmers in our National Economy" (address at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, August 1, 1940) ; also Carey McWilliams, op. cit.

31. See W. C. Lowdermilk, "The Right to Land Use", *Menorah Journal* (Winter, 1941), p. 108. See also Hazen, op. cit. ; Henry A. Wallace, "The Most Exciting Enterprise in the World", *United Palestine Appeal, 1940 Yearbook* (published on the occasion of the "Night of Stars") ; and Sir Arthur Waughope's address before the Overseas League in London, *Jewish Frontier* (October, 1941).

32. Lowdermilk, op. cit., p. 311.

33. Wurm, op. cit., p. 35.

34. For descriptions of a workday in the Kvutza, see *Handbook*, pp. 16 f., and Lowdermilk, op. cit., pp. 320 f.

35. *Report*, p. 81.

36. Table from *Handbook*, p. 15.

37. *Handbook*, p. 16.

38. *Report*, p. 1.

39. Figures from *Bulletin of the Audit Union of the Jewish Agricultural Labour Co-operatives in Palestine, 1934-35*. Quoted in *Handbook*, p. 26. A detailed listing of the income from the different branches of a particular Kvutza, Geva, can be found in the *Report*, p. 81. The variation in the average net income per workday (in different Kvutzot) is given in a table of the *Handbook*, p. 25.

40. Hazen, op. cit., p. 138.

41. See *Refugee Settlements in the Dominican Republic*, op. cit., p. 19.

42. Lowdermilk, op. cit., p. 317.

43. Hazen, op. cit., p. 140.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

45. "Encouragement, assisted by small loans, has been given to citrus growers to extend their occupation to mixed farming on and near the groves with the dual purpose of promoting the production of foodstuffs and of making the grower more self-supporting at a time when the citrus industry is depressed." G. R. Sandford, "Palestine's Economic Front", *Palestine and the Middle East* (Tel Aviv, June, 1942) XIV, No. 6, p. 104.

46. Shmuel Ben-Zvi, "The Collective Way", *Hashomer Hatzair*, IX, No. 6 ; see also Abraham Revusky, "Co-operatives Stand the Test", *Jewish Frontier* (March, 1942).

47. Hazen, op. cit., p. 126 ; also Lowdermilk, op. cit., p. 321.

48. Hazen, op. cit., pp. 143-4.

49. A. Ulitzur, "Palestine in Two World Wars", *Palestine and the Middle East* (Tel Aviv, June, 1943) XIV, No. 6. See also Dorothy Kahn Bar-Adon, "Visit to Fishermen's Villages", *ibid.*, XIV, No. 5.

50. Becker, op. cit., Part III.

51. "The proportion of persons who leave the Kvutzot each year is naturally lower in the older Kvutzot than in those more recently established. The figures for ten Kvutzot for 1935-6 show that in four of the newer Kvutzot [membership, 716] 100 or 14 per cent. left during the year while in six of the older Kvutzot [membership, 1,129] 68 or only 6 per cent. left during the year. Of those who left, in all ten [Kvutzot] 121 or about three-quarters had been in the Kvutza less than one year and included apprentice workers, while only about one-quarter of those who left were old members." *Handbook*, p. 6.

52. Walter Preuss, *Die Jüdische Arbeiterbewegung in Palästina* (*The Jewish Labour Movement in Palestine*), revised edition, with a Preface by D. Ben Gurion (Vienna, 1936).

53. Becker, op. cit., p. 307.

54. R. M. MacIver, *Society : A Textbook of Sociology* (New York : Farrar and Rinehart, 1937), p. 327.

55. Ibid., pp. 8 ff.

56. Preuss, op. cit.

57. Ben-Shalom, op. cit., p. 224.

58. Ibid., p. 223.

59. Heinrich Infeld, "Architecture in Palestine," *Jewish Frontier* (December, 1935).

60. Feeding a member, according to the *Handbook*, costs about 20 to 25 cents, while cost of maintenance is from 45 to 75 cents a day. For children the costs are about half.

61. Infeld, "The German Immigration's Influence upon the Theatre in Palestine," *Menorah Journal* (June, 1936).

62. Infeld, "Theatre in Palestine," *Opinion* (June, 1936).

63. For an excellent literary presentation, see I. J. Singer's *The Brothers Ashkenazi* [tr. from the Yiddish by Maurice Samuel] (New York : Knopf, 1936). Also see Louis Wirth, "Education for Survival, the Jews," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII, No. 6, pp. 682-91.

64. C. Cyderowitsch, "The Kibbutzim in the Beginning of 1936", *Jüdische Rundschau* (Berlin, 1936).

65. *Jüdische Rundschau* (Berlin, February 8, 1935).

66. Ben-Shalom, op. cit.

67. The sum spent for board, lodging, clothing, medical attention, and education in the Kvutza ranges from £P $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 (\$7.50 to \$10.00) a month according to the *Handbook* (p. 10), which estimates that the total cost of rearing a child to the age of sixteen is about £P300 to 400, or \$1,500.00 to \$2,000.00.

68. Cyderowitsch, op. cit.

69. Fritz Naphtali, "Kibbutzagungen", *Jüdische Rundschau* (December, 1935).

70. There is approximately one worker in the children's house for every two and one-half to five children. About half the workers are specialized and permanent. The others take a three or six months' tour of duty by roster. See *Handbook*, p. 10.

71. Joseph Baratz, *The Story of Dagania* (Jerusalem, 1942).

72. Ben-Shalom, op. cit., p. 259.

73. Cf. particularly Sholom Wurm, op. cit., p. 62 : "The parent-child relationship has not been weakened. It has been strengthened and purified. There are cases where divorced parents meet nightly at the bedside of their children and the child is never aware of the rift. Thus the child is protected from adult cataclysms which he cannot understand." General Sir Arthur Wauchope, speaking of the children's rejoicing their fathers and their mothers after a day's work, says : "I have often been witness to these meetings. The children's cries of joy and the unrestrained signs of affection show at once that the daily separation during the hours of labour causes no lessening of devotion on one side or the other. On the contrary, I believe the relationship between parents and children is peculiarly happy in these communal communities." Quoted from "Communal Settlements in Palestine", *Jewish Frontier* (October, 1941), p. 12.

74. See Chap. VII. In Palestine, there are commissions for parochial schools as well as for secondary schools. All committees are subordinate to "Knesseth Israel", the representative body of Jewish communities in Palestine. The schools are actually private: their funds come from the Jewish population. The schools are recognized by the Mandate Administration, which, incidentally, supports them if they meet certain stipulated requirements.

75. The method introduced in the primary schools by the Social Democratic Council of Vienna. Its proponent was Glöckel, chairman of the Educational Committee. But the real initiator was Franz Cizek, noted teacher in the "Kunstgewerbeschule" of Vienna.
76. Neo-Hebrew has an extensive literature, especially in poetry.
77. These are taken from sayings of Palestinian children published by a teacher, Dr. J. Rivkai, in *Almanac of the Workmen's Sick Fund, 1935*.
78. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, pp. 140 ff.
79. A. Ulitzur, *Two Decades of Keren Hayesod* (Jerusalem : Eretz Israel Foundation Fund, Keren Hayesod, 1940), p. 46.
80. "Instruction, Farm Security Administration Data 28", *Cooperative Activities on Resettlement Type Projects* (November, 1937), Part IV : 20-23 (mimeographed).
81. Ulitzur, op. cit.
82. Some, but very few, of the Kvutzot are located on land acquired by the Jewish Colonization Association and by the Palestine Land Development Company. See *Handbook*, p. 27.
83. Compiled partly from J. Elazari-Volcani, "Jewish Colonization in Palestine", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science : Special Palestine Issue, November, 1932*, pp. 84 ff.; and from Arthur Ruppин, "Agricultural Achievements in Palestine", *Contemporary Jewish Record*, V, No. 3 (June, 1942).
84. Ulitzur, op. cit., p. 48.
85. Ibid.
86. See especially, Franz Lederer, *Jüdische Rundschau* (Berlin, April 26, 1935). Lederer complains that these stipulations were worse than previous provisions. Cf. also Chap. IX.
87. *Report*, p. 35. Also, Abraham Revusky, *The Histadrut, a Labor Commonwealth in the Making* (New York : League of Labor Palestine, 1938).
88. Revusky, op. cit.
89. Ibid.
90. Harry Viteles, "The Cooperative Movement", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, op. cit., pp. 127 ff.
91. *Handbook*, p. 19.
92. E. F. Young, "The German Youth Movement", *Sociology and Social Research* (March-April, 1932).
93. H. F. Blunck, "Vom Wandervogel zur S. A.", *Deutsche Jugend* edited by Will Vesper (1934). The author points out that most Nazi leaders previously participated in the Youth movement.
94. Ruppин, "The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine", p. 41. Our italics.
95. Horace M. Kallen, *Zionism and World Politics—A Study in History and Social Psychology* (New York : Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921). The note on page 281 deals with differences between European and American Zionists as to budget principles.
96. Ruppин, loc. cit.
97. Eliezer Kaplan, "Report on the Meeting of the Keren Hayesod in Jerusalem", *Jüdische Rundschau* (February 8, 1935).
98. Ernst Erich Noth, *La Tragédie de la Jeunesse Allemande* (Paris : B. Grasset, 1934). Quotation translated from the French.
99. Emile Vandervelde, *Le Pays d'Israel : Un Marxiste en Palestine* (Paris, 1929).
100. S. D. Myres, "Constitutional Aspects of the Mandate for Palestine", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science : Special Palestine Issue, November, 1932*, pp. 1 ff. : "Whether or not Palestine was to become a part of the projected Arab state in spite of the provisions of the Sykes-Picot

agreement that it should be internationalized, has aroused much discussion. . . . Since the correspondence has never been published in full, it is impossible to arrive at an exact conclusion in the matter."

101. Mogannam E. Mogannam, "Palestine Legislation under the British", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science: Special Palestine Issue, November, 1932*, pp. 47 ff. Cf. the notes of Viteles on this accusation (same issue, p. 50). He states: "This has not been proved and is a subject *sub judicio*. In spite of the great publicity given by the Director of Development, less than 2,000 Arabs filed petitions as having been displaced. These petitions are now being reviewed by a special legal assessor appointed for the purpose."

102. A good illustration is the press campaign conducted by "Davar" the Tel-Aviv labour daily, on the occasion of the picketing in Kefar Saba during the winter of 1933-4. A daily editorial condemned Jewish land-owners who had hired Arab labourers and had refused to dismiss them. The names of the pickets were printed on a list of honour. Among them were many leading intellectuals.

103. Becker, op. cit., pp. 37 ff. The terms "association" and "dissociation", fundamental in systematic sociology, are used in Becker's adaptation. Such "transplantation" of terms is often underrated. The difficulty of translating sociological terms arises from the relation of semantics to sociology: cf. the writer's review of von Wiese's "System der Allgemeinen Soziologie", *American Sociological Review* (October, 1936).

104. Cf. Pitirim Sorokin's comprehensive study, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1927).

105. Ibid., Chap. VIII, p. 169. He calls the school a "channel of vertical circulation".

106. Alfred Odin, *Genèse des Grands Hommes, Gens de lettres Français modernes*, 2 vols. (Paris and Lausanne, 1895).

107. Ibid., p. 529.

108. Ibid., p. 524.

109. Ibid., p. 532. Translated by the present author.

110. Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1887); Emile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, tr. by Swain (London, 1915); Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality*, tr. by Clare (New York, 1923); W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1906); C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909); Franklin H. Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922).

111. Becker, op. cit., pp. 498 ff. See also Howard Becker and Ruth Hill Useem, "Sociological Analysis of the Dyad", *American Sociological Review* (February, 1942).

112. J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations* (Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Diseases Pub. Co., 1934), p. 432. Also, Moreno, "Foundations in Sociometry", *Sociometry*, IV, No. 1 (February, 1941).

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123. Ruppin, op. cit., p. 41.
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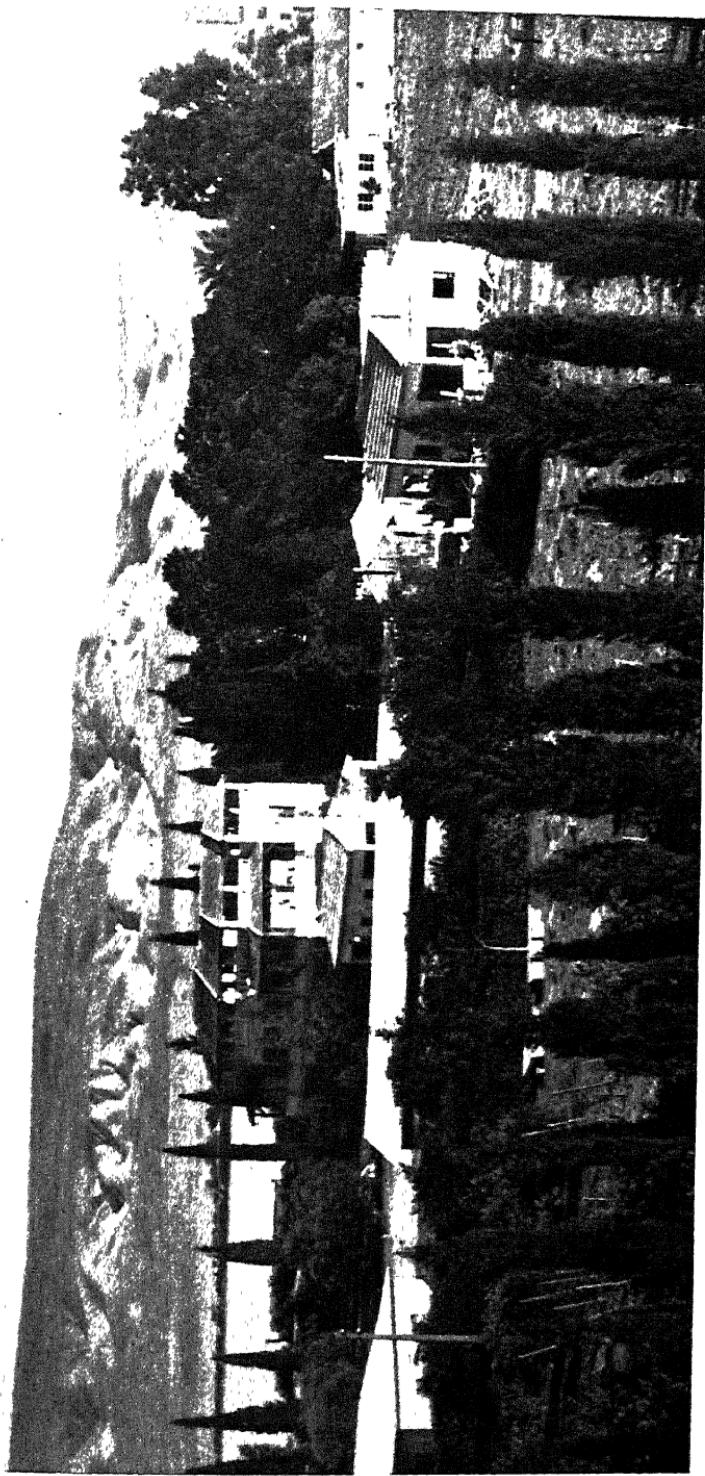
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